

PAIDIKA

The Journal of Paedophilia



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INTERVIEW: JOHN MONEY



A New Zealander by birth, an American by citizenship, Dr. John Money is considered one of the foremost U.S. sexologists. He studied psychology with Saul Rosenzweig at the Psychiatric Institute of the University of Pittsburgh before moving to Harvard's Psychological Clinic. Upon receiving his PhD from Harvard in 1952, he became the world's first pediatric psychoendocrinologist at Johns Hopkins, where he founded both the Office of Psychohormonal Research, and the Gender Identity Clinic. He is Professor Emeritus of Medical Psychology in the Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, and Professor of Pediatrics. Dr. Money has written nearly 400 scientific papers, scholarly reviews and textbook chapters, and innumerable books. His books include: *Sexual Signatures* (1975); *Love and Love Sickness: The Science of Sex, Gender Difference, and Pair-bonding* (1980); *The Destroying Angel: Sex, Fitness and Food in the Legacy of Degeneracy Theory, Graham Crackers, Kellogg's Corn Flakes, and American Health History* (1985); *Venus Penuses: Sexology, Sexosophy, and Exigency Theory*; and *Gay, Straight and In-Between: The Sexology of Erotic Orientation*. This interview was conducted in Amsterdam by Joseph Geraci and Donald Mader in May of 1990.

Definitions

Question: *Dr. Money, in your new introduction to your reprint of the Medicine and Law article, "Juvenile, Paedophile, Heterophile," you have drawn a distinction between child abuse or molestation and paedophilia, especially what you refer to as "affectional paedophilia." How would you describe affectional paedophilia in layman's terms?*

Dr. John Money: Affectional means affection. It doesn't involve any kind of unpleasantness, coerciveness or personal injury and especially no punishment, chastisement or discipline.

I prefer not to use the words abuse and molestation, certainly not to use them loosely to mean anything having to do with sex, which is the way they are used nowadays. First of all it's extremely important to make a clear difference between all forty of the paraphilias. And that means making a difference between the straight-forward affectional attraction to children as compared with the attraction to children which is combined with sadism and cruelty. I would prefer to say that there are some people who have a paedophilic attraction to children which is an affectionate and loving attraction. There are also those who have another element in their lovemaps which is sadistic. At the great extreme is the person attracted to prepuberal children who is a paraphilic killer as well. These differentiations are not drawn very much in the professional literature.

Could you in brief explain your concept of paraphilia.

I'm not using it as the name for a disease. The paraphilias are simply types of erotic attraction. "Philia" means "love." "Para" means "beyond the usual, distinct from, different from." They come in degrees, some very dangerous and injurious, and others absolutely not. Some you might say are even playful. In trying to explain any of these paraphilias, I think one gains a good deal by looking for what I've termed the phyletic origins. Phyletic is obviously from the same root as phylogenetic, and it means those aspects of human behavior that are present with us

simply because we're members of the species. It raises the question of which aspects have entered into the erotic development of the lovemap in some people but not in others.

In a new book edited by Dr. Jay Feierman, entitled, *Pedophilia: The Biosocial Dimensions*, I wrote a chapter that dealt with the phyletic origins of paedophilic love. In brief, what I said there was that paedophilia is an overflow of parental pairbonding into erotic pairbonding. You don't find it in ordinary cases of parental pairbonding. So, returning to the idea of affectional, it's easy to see that the affectional relationship, in male paedophilia at least, is a fatherly relationship. It becomes combined as well with erotic or lover-lover pairbonding. Understanding the fatherly or parental attachment is very important to understanding both the younger boy and the older man in paedophilic relationships. It's one of the things that can make the relationship such a powerfully important one for the younger boy.

Does that mean that for you paedophilia will now no longer be described as a paraphilia, but in terms of a phylism?

Now, everything in the way of paraphilias can have a phylism attributed to it as part of its foundations. Paedophilia should just be accepted for its etymological meaning, which is simply the love of children. Neither boys nor girls—just the love of children. It's not the so-called parent-child, pairbonded love. It includes that and then adds the erotic love or lover bonding.

What is the significance of this shift of words? Is "phylism" more neutral in your mind? Isn't "paraphilia" filled with pejorative meaning?

Paraphilia first came into usage in the 1930's. It's better than "perversion," but certainly it's not totally neutral and impartial as a word. It does arouse feelings of usually negative antagonism in some people.

Doesn't paraphilia connote pathology?

No, it doesn't. The idea that there are paraphilic dispositions, tendencies, and manifestations in people that are also not pathological is very hard for people to accept. One example I give is that probably more than 50% of American men would find ordinary heterosexual porno more stimulating if the woman had some pieces of underclothing on, especially a garter belt, or stockings and high-heel shoes, maybe a brassiere, than if she were just completely naked. One meaning of normal is that something is the mathematical or statistical norm. If more than 50% of people are attracted toward partially dressed or undressed women, then that's got to be statistically average or normal, but it doesn't mean it has to be ideologically normal.

This returns us to what we just discussed above, namely the pejorative meanings of paedophilia and homosexuality. It raises the question of why some of the paraphilias are value-laden and interpreted as being pejorative.

The ideological norm is not defined statistically. So by what criterion is it defined? It's defined by somebody else's beliefs or ideology. And that means in the final analysis it's defined by somebody else's power over somebody else. You can impose your own ideology if you have a bigger army or a bigger police force. In all of the paraphilias we're dealing with, who really sets the ideological standards for sexual behavior? In Maryland, where I live, and in Washington D.C., there is an ancient law that considers you a criminal if you have oral sex with your partner even if you're married. The fine is only \$1000, but the possible term of imprisonment is ten years. The law is actually used sometimes under special circumstances where criminal lawyers figure they can "get" somebody on it. Yet, everybody that I've talked to regards it as a stupid law and ideologically untenable, but it still stays on the law books. When it was put there people really were confirmed in their ideology that it was a good law, and that people definitely shouldn't commit acts of oral sex on one another.

You give certain characteristics to paraphilias. One is that the person separates lust and love or is otherwise incapable of romantic love. How do you relate this to paedophilia?

I wouldn't say the person, the paedophile, makes this separation. I would say the paraphilia does. Paedophilia is a special instance. There is within it a combination of affectionate love as well as the lust factor. For many paedophiles—I'm not going to universalize any statement that I make—but for many, and probably the vast majority, there is a chronological factor. The erotic phases out sometime after the child passes the age of puberty. A very long-lasting affectionate kind of friendship ensues, but the erotic, romantic attraction is finished. There is, in other words, a separation between the affectionate and the lust factors. Certainly this has been the case with many people I've known through the clinic.

You are suggesting that the separation between lust and love in paedophilia is caused by time, that at one point in the relationship they are together, at another point—because of time—they separate. Most relationships change over time. How does the time factor specifically affect paedophilia?

There's a special group of paraphilic phenomena that can be put together under the category of chronophilia. This simply means that the nature of that type of philia involves an age discrepancy between the partners. That was established a long time ago regarding paedophilia, though somewhat mistakenly. The term paedophilia was used to encompass infantophilia, meaning someone at the diaper age, and ephebophilia, meaning teenage relationships. In my experience, a person who's an infantophile can't comprehend the person who's a paedophile—defined as a person interested in children between the ages of late infancy, let's say, and puberty. Nor, I think, can the ephebophile comprehend the interests of either the paedophile or the infantophile. Intellectually, of course, they can understand each other and not be stupid about it. But genuine, personal emotional understanding just simply doesn't exist between people in those categories.

One could also say there's no comprehension on the part of anyone in those three categories with someone who can fall in love and have a sexual relationship only with someone who is of a parent's or grandparent's age. That's gerontophilia. If the person is too young there's no erotic bonding. If there's a big discrepancy, let's say between a twenty-year-old and sixty-year-old, then the relationship is limited in time just simply by the exigencies of human existence and death.

I have a strong impression, although I've never proved this, that we ought to have a Greek word for twentyophiles, thirtyophiles, fortyophiles. I'm impressed by the extreme probability that many relationships, including marriages, break up because the image of the partner in your lovemap does not mature along with your birthday age. Your lovemap age stays put while the age of the person goes beyond that of the age in the lovemap. There are a lot of men and women who cannot explain why a relationship suddenly becomes worthless and perfunctory around their middle thirties or forties. The explanation might be, especially when you see someone who has broken up with their partner going out with someone ten, fifteen or twenty years younger, that their aging partner no longer corresponds to the image in their lovemap. You might almost say it's the lucky ones whose lovemap image ages at the same rate as their chronological age.

Well then, how important is age for sexual relationships or erotic attachments, in general, regardless of paraphilias?

I don't think that there's a universal answer to that. I would say though that if I were to see the case of a boy aged ten or eleven who's intensely erotically attracted toward a man in his twenties or thirties, if the relationship is totally mutual, and the bonding is genuinely totally mutual, then I would not call it pathological in any way. At the other extreme, if it's a totally mutual relationship between a sixty- or seventy-year-old and a twenty- to thirty-year-old, then I would have to say the same thing.

I suspect that there might be a large reservoir of documented older cases, though I don't know

anyone who's tried to document them. If you tried to document the relationship between an older and younger person in America right now you could be prosecuted. You literally can't even do research on paedophilia any more.

If I were to see the case of a boy aged ten or eleven who's intensely erotically attracted toward a man in his twenties or thirties, if the relationship is totally mutual, and the bonding is genuinely totally mutual, then I would not call it pathological in any way.

My own clinical experience up to this point, which is relatively limited, is that the relationships that I've seen between boys and men are for the boy hero worship and, you might almost say, adoration. The erotic part of it for the boy is rather perfunctory. He is going to grow up to be heterosexual anyway. A lot of the boys that I've known, or have heard about from colleagues, are quite clear that the relationship has a time limit to it. By the time they're fifteen or so it will have changed into a non-sexual friendship. One young man with whom I did a follow-up interview when he was in his twenties told me, "Well, I really did it for him, because I knew what it meant to him. It really didn't do me any harm, and it wasn't too bad anyway. But I didn't really totally enjoy it." At the time I was interviewing him he was very romantically in love with his girlfriend, and had never previously had exactly that kind of human experience. That had not been the particular kind of experience he had felt with his man friend, but he still was very bonded to him. It's not uncommon to hear, "Well, he really was more of a father to me than my own father was."

In Theo Sandfort's book, Boys on Their Contacts with Men, for which you wrote the introduction, he does point out that some boys give sexuality as one of the good things about the relationship with the man. Does this indicate that it is possible there are more boys

interested in the sexual experience than you may have encountered at this point?

I would think it's possible, particularly for boys over puberty who are feeling the full expression of their own sexuality and eroticism, but I simply don't know the answer for boys under puberty and likewise for girls under puberty.

Where would you locate boy-love in your discussion of homosexuality? For you, is boy-love paedophilia, or is it homosexuality?

Well, you have to start with their dictionary meanings. "Paedo" implies the age factor. "Homo" means two people with penises or vulvas. I'm very meticulous about homosexuality because after all there are people with penises who were born with two ovaries and they have an empty scrotum. Whichever way you try to look at it, the fact is that we all, throughout society, define homosexuality in terms of the external sex organs. So that if there are two penises in bed together then it's male homosexuality and if there are two vulvas in bed together that's female homosexuality. It doesn't matter what the chromosomes are or what the gonads internally are or were.

Homosexuality means, literally, being sexually attracted to someone of the same sex. You can divide the usages of the word into a homosexual act or acts, and something more abstruse, that is a homosexual personality or a homosexual gender identity. Personality has to be further qualified. There's what has historically been incorrectly identified as the only form of homosexuality, associated with a very high degree of female identification and impersonation. There are still many people who define homosexuality in terms of femininity of behavior, of body language and a general female disposition. That is, of course, only an extremely specialized subsection of same-sex attraction.

I don't think that boys that identify themselves femininely are more likely to be attracted to a paedophilic relationship. They tend to be a subcategory unto themselves. They're much more interested in playing with girls, and not getting

into any sexual play at all, which makes a certain amount of sense to me. The background of these so-called "sissy boys" is parents who are having trouble in their own sexual life. Sexuality is a threatening thing, especially masculine sexuality, so that they don't express themselves in an erotic or sexual way at all to anybody, not even in same-age sexual rehearsal play. They are special cases.

What I am getting at is that paedophilia and homosexuality are highly charged subjects within the adversarial system of society, law and morality, with its basic origins back in religion. It's hard to find words that don't carry some sort of pejorative significance to them.

Paedophilia and Society

What value judgments do you place on your description of paedophilia in terms of society, the law, or other expressions of the erotic life.

My entire approach is to try and understand these "other expressions of the erotic life." It's a scientific approach. You know there's an extraordinary difference in the basic premises of thinking between science and law. The law is adversarial, and that automatically means value judgments. The whole logical process of science is to try and find consensus. After you have a scientific consensus there is a process of forming social value judgments. Scientific knowledge and social value judgments are clearly two different things. My great interest in all the manifestations of sexological, human functioning is simply to try to understand them. The whole issue of making a value judgment is something different. I'm not sure that one can make universal value judgments.

With paedophilia, one of the things that has impressed me is the variety of social, institutionalized, implicit value judgments between one society and another. You undoubtedly know that Gilbert Herdt estimated that in 10% of the Melanesian societies there is institutionalized paedophilic bisexuality. This is my term for it, not the way it is usually described. There's a period of life in which the young boy established

a sexual relationship with an older teenager or young man. When he reaches the tribal marriage age, usually at 19 or 20, that sexual relationship finishes. He is put into a marriage relationship which everybody is put into.

The idea of institutionalizing a period of paedophilic same-sex relationships is something that members of our society really have never been able to cope with. By the standards of our own history, of our own culture, these people are judged perverted. That certainly happened with government administrative people and missionaries in the Melanesian culture where institutionalized paedophilia exists.

In order to make a value judgment, it seems to me one needs to know first of all as much as one can about the developmental origins of, in this particular instance, paedophilia. Then one needs to know about the ancient cultural customs or mores with regard to it in a given society. What I'm really saying in so many words is that you can't make value judgments in a vacuum, so you've always got to put into your equation some consideration of the historical and contemporary cultural pattern in which you're observing the phenomenon.

In your writings you have defined a paraphilia as "a condition occurring in males or females upon which a person is compulsively responsive to and obligatively dependent upon, an unusual and personally or socially unacceptable stimulus, ideation or fantasy for maintenance of sexual arousal." Would this suggest that something would cease to be a paraphilia if the stimulus were no longer socially unacceptable? This seems to have happened in the example you just gave us. When men look at partially clothed women, that's an acceptable stimulus. People would not say that that is a paraphilia, certainly not a pathology. Would this be true clinically as well, that once the stimulus becomes socially acceptable it ceases to be a paraphilia?

Well, you're hitting the nail on the head. The central problem inherent in defining a paraphilic phenomenon has to do, as I started to say above, with defining a statistical norm, as opposed to an ideological norm. If we take Gilbert Herdt's example and look at the New Guinean or Melane-

sian peoples we see that all the boys go through a stage of explicit homosexual contact with someone already mature enough to ejaculate. Statistically this behavior is not going to be defined as pathological. And, if it's called a paraphilia, it's going to have to be called a normal paraphilia, that is, it's statistically normal. But even if it is statistically acceptable the further question is then, "Is this behavior ideologically acceptable as well?" Even further we would also have to ask: "To whom?" You could term that "the missionary question." It might be acceptable to the Melanesian people themselves who've always had this form of homosexuality as part of their culture pattern, but it was certainly not acceptable to the missionary. The question, then, really has to do with the imposition of norms from without.

How does all this relate to the discussion on paedophilia?

Paedophilia is part of the discussion of ideological norms. It is an issue of being fair-minded to people, just as the missionaries were not being fair-minded but wanted only to impose their own ideology.

Let me give you an example that is not actually on paedophilia, but I hope we'll be able to use it to illustrate a point. It is one of the most difficult examples and test cases I can think of, one that most people have misunderstood.

Let us take two people who make a death pact, a couple who are sadomasochistic. They keep it totally, totally secret between themselves and nobody else, but in one of their ceremonies one of them does finally die. Now here is the problem: if the person who remains alive is never suspected, then ideologically how do you define that relationship. The key, I think is that it was totally a consensual relationship.

There is another factor we have to add, however, and that is that if this person is never suspected it would almost have to mean that there was no outside party involved, someone who would not have shared the ideology, in other words that nobody else's ideology entered into it. So, what it comes down to is that the

couple consented to their sadomasochistic activities. The key to this discussion is consent.

Now, I have come around to what I think is a fairly workable definition of consent. I don't think you can enter into a consenting relationship if you don't know the possible ending right at the beginning. If there is, in other words, something totally unpredictable about it then you can't consent to it. And so, the survivor, in this particular case, had to build into his consenting part of the relationship the possibility that he would end up in the electric chair, and that was part of his scheme in life. Now, that's a complicated example in many ways; it is really the most difficult example I can think of, but it does bring to the fore the very important point that you *can* define a consenting relationship. I would maintain that it can be defined on the criterion of being able to predict a possible ending from the beginning.

It is hard to see how this is a workable definition. For example, can a couple getting married predict the outcome of their marriage from the beginning of the relationship?

They have to know the possible outcomes. There has to be awareness of risks and possibilities to consent properly. Engaged couples can know that there's a 50% chance of ending up in divorce, and they're willing to take that chance. I don't know any better way of defining a consenting relationship.

But you asked how all this relates to paedophilia, so let me try to get back to that.

Before the law was passed in Maryland that now obliges me to report every suspicion or accusation of a paedophilic relationship, I was able to work in a totally different way with people who came to me with a complaint about themselves as paedophiles. I'll restrict myself to discussing men who had boyfriends. I'm also talking about people who were self-referred, and not people who were referred under pressure or under legal coercion. I always would say to them, well, I want to be able to talk to your boyfriend. And if the situation really permitted it, I would want to talk to the boy's parents, be-

cause I found out that very often the parents were implicitly, if not explicitly aware of the relationship. I suppose I could say the parents acquiesced; at least, they certainly didn't make a fuss about the relationship. They were sometimes on a very friendly basis with the boy's older partner.

The one thing that I really wanted to make sure of was that the boy did not feel trapped in the relationship. In the two instances I studied I was convinced the boys did *not* feel trapped. They both were very aware of the fact that they had a kind of contract with their older partner. At any time they wanted to say "no" and stop the sexual relationship that would be acceptable. That was very important. I've known cases where the boy's relationship with his older partner was forcibly broken up. He experienced that separation in exactly the same way as if he'd experienced the death of his partner or of one of his parents or somebody very close to him. It's very important once a relationship has been established on such positive and affectionate grounds that it should not be broken up precipitously. All that needs to be done for the proper development of that boy's life is that he know he's not trapped. That would work for anybody, really. The general principle, I'm stating here, the ability of the partner to say no in the relationship, applies very widely, not just to a paedophilic relationship.

This description is far removed from the reality in the U.S. right now, where paedophilic relationships are outside the law. The parents having an explicit say in the sexual component of their son's relationship, is no longer a question in the United States. If the parents know about it then they're committing a crime if they don't report it and stop it. If a paedophile comes to me and asks for help, I would have to tell him that in a way he's speaking to the undercover police. If I don't report him I would be breaking the law. That's a major question for every health-care provider in the United States. It has put all of us in the position of being undercover health-care police, instead of followers of Hippocrates.

This awful situation is the product of the extraordinary negativism of the American

society towards everything that pertains to sex. Especially to the development of sexuality in childhood. We force children to keep everything in their sexual lives as secret as possible. Otherwise, they're ridiculed, chastised, disciplined or punished for anything sexual. Even ordinary boy-girl sexual rehearsal play is something that parents have been warned against. They go berserk when they see it. Imagine if you were a young boy with a paedophile lover. You would have to keep it secret for sure. It would be extremely difficult to integrate it into your total life without its being out in the open, especially with your family.

You cite considerable evidence to support the view that paedophile relationships are not as harmful to the child as the social and legal reactions, reactions of parents, reactions of courts, etc., separation from the adult friend. Does this suggest that efforts should be made to change the social opinion rather than trying to control paedophiles and their behavior? Is the emphasis in the wrong direction?

I can't consider any aspect of human sexual and erotic behavior in a social vacuum. One has to start with asking what is the configuration of the ideological lovmep in the society in which the person has been raised. So, the basic issue, and the answer to your question is: To what degree can any of us expect to establish a community consensus in order to bring about change? When you have a small community, not a very large one, that has the same ideological concepts, then some things will work within that community which you will no longer have to keep secret. You can, for example, make a rule that paedophilia can be subject to personal consent. As the young person, you would be allowed to consent to it, or not consent to it, without anybody chastising you either way.

We would really need to know more about the developmental period between early childhood and the mid-twenties, to find out the answer that a lot of people want to know, and that is how acceptable is it in terms of childhood growth and development with regard to ultimate sexual health, that they have sexual options

available to them. We simply don't know the answer to that at the present time, as far as I'm concerned. The nearest we have to an answer is that if you've got the legal courage you could find some indications of an answer. In the case of the two boys I mentioned already, I'm sure that their assumption that their parents knew about the sexual part of their relationships and they weren't going to make a fuss about it was very important to them. They weren't living in fear of some terrible secret being found out that would have thrown them to the lions, thrown them to the devils.

Why not rely on Theo Sandfort's research which shows that relationships can be beneficial and not harmful?

I do rely on Sandfort's research up to a certain extent, but there are many variables he didn't investigate. Nobody in the U.S. or Britain is going to be allowed to investigate this without being arrested, or violating client confidentiality. This also applies to studies of same-age sexual rehearsal play in children. No government agency would give you a research grant if you explicitly stated you were going to study even the developmental sexual behavior of monkeys, no less children. It's incredibly difficult to study anything sexual and get grant money for it at the present time. Unless you're trying to put people in jail, or be a victimologist.

Would you feel that it is useless now in the U.S. to advocate social change simply because the sexological community cannot do the research to obtain the proper information to know what change to advocate?

Well, when the gay rights activists began being politically active, there wasn't a sufficient body of scientific information for them to base their gay rights activism on. So, you don't have to have a basic body of scientific information in order to decide to work actively for a particular ideology. As long as you're prepared to be put in jail. Isn't that how social change has always taken place, really?

In a previous interview in Paidika, Gunter Schmidt accused the sexological community of cowardice in standing up to government pressures. Is there a responsibility for sex researchers to protest more against the constraints being put on them, and about the constraints being put on sex in general in society?

There is a division among sexologists as to whether one should be engaged in either sex reform or sex research. This argument has really come home to roost at this present time because of disclosure laws that are against sex researchers themselves. There are taboo subjects that you can't research at all. What's really necessary is a political lobby from sex researchers to establish their right to do sex research, including research on paedophilia. I've done my fair share of rattling sabres at sexological meetings, but I don't get very far. There are not very many sexologists or sex therapists or sex educators, when you put the whole bunch of us together. Out of that small number there's an even smaller number who are convinced of the importance of establishing their scientific right to do research. Otherwise there would be a lobby in Washington. My favorite saying about this is: Wherever the herrings are running, the gulls are overhead. When it becomes possible, as now in the U.S., to make money by specializing in the treatment of child abuse, with absolutely no scientific basis to anything that you're doing, then you'll find a lot of people making a lot of money. It's where your paycheck is that dictates a lot of people's activities; that is, whether they will be sex reformists or sex researchers. A dismal situation, isn't it?

There is a difference from country to country in the childhood sexuality hysteria that's been going on in the last several years, between the United States and England, for example, and the Netherlands. Here there's a much more rational discussion and even a recent liberalization of the law. There is still sexological research going on into child sexuality, and there is the presence of many paedophile work groups. What would you see as the reason why the hysteria has been so intense in the United States, which is where you live?

The United States was founded by a band of devil chasers, and they're still chasing devils. It's impossible for American politics to exist without having some devil to chase. Communism was the great devil, but now that Communism is fading away as a devil, it's sex and drugs that everybody's riled up about.

America has a totally different cultural and historical background regarding the development of sex laws than does the Netherlands. It has something to do with the persistence of the pre-Roman imperial ideal of marriage as an arrangement between families that unites wealth and power, and the pre-Roman, very ancient European system of betrothal, which you still find totally unaltered only in Iceland. Under this very ancient system, you weren't officially allowed to get married until you had proved that you could create a pregnancy. The betrothal idea meant that young people had to sleep together in order to prove that they were competent to get married. That meant there was a more open attitude toward the expression of overt sexual behavior between young people prior to being married that survived in northern European areas much, much longer than it did in south European areas. It's only in northern Europe that you had enough survival of the ancient betrothal system that it meant automatically a high degree of toleration for the rights of women and for the rights of young people to have a sex life. It's the aftermath of that which you find in Holland and in the Scandinavian countries. It's what Magus Hirschfeld was fighting for from Hanover when the Prussians took over Hanover and put the severe Prussian anti-sexual laws over the ones in Hanover which were as liberal as the ones that survived in Holland. *

You have three large factors you have to take into consideration: history, culture and pure science. In other words, we are returning to another part of our discussion, that of sexual ideologies. One can do cross-cultural comparisons of course, and then you might be able to come up with a conceptual plan for revision of the ideology.

***Hannover**

Depo-Provera

You have been identified with the use of antiandrogenic hormones, especially Depo-Provera. This was an area that we asked Dr. Schmidt about in his interview. He mentioned that the University of Hamburg, where he teaches, although it had been one of the pioneers in antiandrogen treatment, has now abandoned it, at least for long-term usage, because of the adverse side-effects. Do you still advocate the use of antiandrogen drugs?

First of all, I've followed the side-effects, and it really seems to me exaggerated to say that you should abandon treatment because of their side-effects. They're really very minor, and most of them are not established as side-effects. There were some symptoms recorded as having occurred in patients being treated who concurrently suffered from other diseases such as diabetes. The side-effects might have occurred without the treatment anyway.

Around 1965 I visited Hamburg. They had had a mentally retarded boy who was masturbating constantly wherever he was, including in public. It was impossible for him to live outside of the close supervision of an institution, which his parents weren't particularly enamored of. They would rather have kept him at home. He wasn't able to stop masturbating by any known form of intervention, until they tried the new antiandrogen, Androcure, which was one of the sex steroids catalogued by Schering in West Berlin. This gave the boy some respite from whatever it was that was driving him into sexual compulsiveness. He was actually injuring his penis. It made it possible for him to live a different kind of life rather than be locked up in an institution injuring his penis all his life.

The second case that I was told about in Hamburg was of a farmer who was in serious legal trouble for incest with young girls in his family. He had freely decided to try the drug treatment. Within the next year, back in Baltimore, I had a man for treatment who had already approached me about acting as a professional advisor for a cross-dressing group that he was setting up for men in the Baltimore-Washington area. His wife was right on the edge of calling the police

after their son disclosed that his father dressed up as the mother and dressed his son as the daughter and something or other went on with his son's sex organs that they called "television games." I never found out exactly what it was. Fortunately for the man, and for the whole family, the mother called me before she called the police. The upshot was that the father wanted some form of treatment so he would not do it again, and would certainly not spend a large part of his life in jail. There was no form of psychiatric treatment of any kind available, because there was no psychiatrist that I contacted in the entire Baltimore area who would take on his kind of case. I discussed the possibility of the hormonal treatment with two endocrinologists who work with me, and we decided to help this man out at his request. He wanted to take a trial course of treatment with the only antiandrogen at that time allowed in the United States, Depo-Provera. I also worked with the whole family. I could do this, and I've raised this issue above, because there were no reporting laws. The outcome of the case was really very successful. I've kept in touch with that man ever since and he has not spent any time in jail. He did not intrude on his son's privacy again either, which his son really had not liked at all. The success of the story was that the family was kept together, nobody was persecuted, and nobody felt that he'd betrayed his father and had him put in jail for 25 or 30 years. The father is very grateful for what was done. After a couple of years he no longer needed antiandrogen.

The use of antiandrogens really depends on how much humanitarian concern you have for people that are in trouble. Are you willing to do something to try and help them? I knew that this was not a dangerous hormone, because it had been used a great deal in pediatric endocrine health care with children who were getting into puberty too early, from as early as 18 months up to six years of age.

I know that one of the arguments against its use is that the law will become Hitler-like and impose the hormone on everybody. That's not much of an argument against using hormones for treating people with sexual problems. Any form of medical treatment can be misused. The

***prosecuted (?)**

fact that something has been discovered and worked out by science does not dictate how it will be used morally or ethically. The ethical implication of everything in medicine has to be studied. Even circumcision should be questioned. It is an unnecessary operation, and nobody has ever collected any figures as to how many children have had adverse consequences including toxic shock syndrome.

Quite apart from the question of side-effects of the drug, the use of antiandrogen normally takes place in the United States with the idea that it will be used to change the basic sexual orientation of the person being treated, in this case, the paedophile. And yet you yourself have suggested in your introduction to Theo Sandfort's book that paedophilia is an orientation which cannot be changed or permanently suppressed. Isn't the use of antiandrogen a misuse if it's coupled with therapy which has as its goal the alteration of a sexual orientation?

The underlying issue you are raising is really whether people are forced into treatment by the law. In point of fact, they're usually not forced into it by the law. Usually, when someone is in trouble with the law it is their lawyer who recommends that they come to the clinic.

I have had some patients who were sufficiently, and I would say justifiably, concerned about where their behavior was going, especially the potential for cruelty or harm to others, that they referred themselves for hormonal treatment.¹ The fact is you're simply not allowed to impose treatment on anybody in psychiatry or sexology. I think it makes a big difference ethically when people come in and give completely informed consent.

I'd like to add a few other remarks. You also have to understand that antiandrogenic treatment is not a lifetime treatment, and its effects are reversible. If somebody is finding his relationships with younger sexual partners extremely distressing to him, and realizes they may have extremely negative consequences as well, he can say that he would like some treatment for whatever period of time he wants. In that case I don't think it's my business to refuse to treat him. But,

now that I am retired, I don't treat anybody anymore, so I'm speaking generically. I also decided regarding paedophilia that I would never report anybody, so I simply would not even try to treat a paedophile, because the very fact that they come and ask for treatment makes them reportable.

Do persons in penal institutions really have a choice?

Paedophiles who have received extremely long imprisonments don't have any choice about that. One of my former patients has been electrocuted in Florida, and he didn't have any choice about whether he would sit in the electric chair or not. So, what I am saying is that we're dealing with very, very basic problems in the law and in legal reform with regard to the sexual laws. One can't approach that problem in a piecemeal fashion. It's something that's, well, really almost too big for one person to deal with, and I'm not sure how we can approach it rationally. I have absolutely no doubt that the vast majority of paedophiles who are put in jail have no business being in jail at all. And some of them have received grossly unjust punishments. But it's totally outside of my capacity to keep them outside of jail. I can do something in the way of treatment that gives some leeway to judges. One can use a medical treatment judiciously to benefit in a very great and humane way some people. Now, whether you get a wicked prison system that abuses medicine by giving tranquilizers to every prisoner in order to turn them into zombies, or overdoses of hormones to turn them into sexual zombies, is a different matter. That has to be fought out on a different battlefield.

The whole idea of the present political actions against childhood sexuality, in any of its manifestations, is really a diabolically clever ploy to establish anti-sexualism on a big scale.

Have you seen your role as advocating prison reform only in terms of giving hormonal treatment to consenting individuals? Have you advocated prison reform in general as strongly as the use of Depo-Provera?

Well, I've done my fair share of advocating law reform. I wrote "Sexual dictatorship, dissidence and democracy." My basic work is psycho-endocrinology and sexology, not prison reform, but I do my fair share, I think. At least it's my concept of my fair share.

Paedophilia and the Law

What is your sentiment regarding paedophilia and various laws that attempt to control it? For example, what is your opinion about age-of-consent laws?

American society really has completely contrary views of childhood sexuality. There is a major attack on childhood sexuality. People are very equivocal about whether or not childhood is a period of sexual innocence, or whether childhood is a period when original sin manifests itself. If it is sin, then sex has to be beaten out of children.

The whole idea of the present political actions against childhood sexuality, in any of its manifestations, is really a diabolically clever ploy to establish anti-sexualism on a big scale. It's what I could call the strategy of the counter-reformationists, who are in the ascendancy now. The reformationist period was during the so-called sexual revolution. The counter-reformationists have been quite explicit in tactically recognizing that as long as they're attacking the wickedness of childhood sexuality in any form by labelling it kiddie porn, there will not be anyone of any standing in society, and certainly no legislator, who would vote against the protection of children. The idea of attacking sex by attacking children's sex has been a very explicit tactic in attacking sex in general. The attack on childhood sexuality is an attack on any ideology of sexuality which the ultra-conservatives of the counter-reformation don't like.

Part of the result was that Congress in 1984 increased the age of the child in pornography from 16 to 18. This was specifically requested by the F.B.I. Congress increased the child's age to 18 to make it easier for the F.B.I. to identify children in pornography. Now someone can be fully grown at 17, no less 18, with a completely adult

male or female body, and therefore still be defined as a child. That blurs the ability to identify what is or is not a child in an image and makes a lot more material prosecutable.

The attack on childhood sexuality is an attack on any ideology of sexuality which the ultra-conservatives of the counter-reformation don't like.

My feeling is that we're dealing with profound social and political forces regarding age of consent. In April, 1990, I read of an Arizona case: a sixteen-year-old boy who has been registered for life as a sex offender because he touched the breasts of his fourteen-year-old girlfriend. Both of them were living in a state-sponsored foster home, and it was by mutual consent. In the middle '70's, the law in Arizona was changed to state that anybody, regardless of age or sex, who touches the breasts of a girl who's not yet reached her 15th birthday is automatically a sexual abuser. Arizona may not change the law, because it opens a Pandora's box to make any changes in sex laws. That's a very terrifying example of how absurd the law can get. Where does your sexuality come from? On your 18th birthday? Down on a rocket, or should I say, up on a rocket?

So you would attack the whole basis from which age-of-consent laws are constructed, in other words.

I certainly think that's where we have to begin.

PASTEUR JOSEPH DOUCÉ:

1945-1990

On the 19th of July, 1990, Pasteur Joseph Doucé disappeared. In October his body was discovered in a woods north of Paris. He had been tortured and murdered, it is suspected by the French Secret Service. A good deal has been written about the case, much of it still speculation, but what does seem clear now is that the motivation for the murder was paedophilia.

Doucé was certainly not secretive about his interest in paedophilia, or his support for paedophiles. He had published, and edited himself, a generally positive book on the subject, *La Pédophilie en Question* (reviewed in *Paidika*: Vol. II, nr. 1). The newsletters for his *Centre du Christ Libérateur* regularly contained articles, reviews, and information about it; his book service offered books on the subject. He counselled many paedophiles at his *Centre*. All of this was a matter of public record.

More relevant to the Secret Service perhaps was his connection to the Belgian paedophile group CRIES. The CRIES Affaire, written about so eloquently in this issue by Casimir Elsen, spilled over into France. On the 9 March 1988 in Paris, 277 persons were arrested in the single largest round-up of citizens since the end of the Second World War, their only crime, it would seem, being the fact that they were on the mailing list of *L'Espoir*, the magazine published by CRIES. Within 24 hours, 276 of those arrested were released. Doucé was among those arrested for questioning, and was also released almost immediately. It was after this harrowing arrest that Doucé courageously wrote us his letter of support, published below.

Doucé had not only subscribed to *L'Espoir* but he had corresponded with Philippe C., one of the main suspects in the case, and others in the group. He had generally offered encouragement

to CRIES and encouraged people to subscribe to their magazine. The CRIES Affaire created an enormous hysteria, partly because an individual within the group had worked for the United Nations children's organization, UNICEF, and had used the darkroom in the UNICEF building to develop photographs of under-age children. In part because of the UN connection the case was blown far out of proportion by the media, no less in France than in Belgium. It is possible that Doucé's association with CRIES not only made him a suspect but made him seem the perfect recruit for the Secret Service.

It has been alleged that the Secret Service tried to enlist him to spy for them against what they termed "the International Paedophile Network." This paranoid conspiracy theory, invented by the FBI and adopted by Interpol, claimed that an interconnected group of paedophiles were abducting, abusing, and even murdering children. This "Network" was also responsible for producing and selling vast quantities of child pornography, sometimes using the same abducted children. Doucé clearly had connections to the "Network," and if pressured enough might make an ideal spy. Before his disappearance there were incidents with police agents at his home and at the Parisian book shop co-owned by him.

Of course, Doucé knew there was no "Network," knew there was no international child pornography cartel. He had argued courageously against such dangerous conspiracy theories. He had spoken out about the hysteria and the dangers of the authoritarian legitimation of the police's illusionary view of paedophiles. On the evening of 19 July, two men identifying themselves as policemen knocked at the door of his *Centre*. They wanted to take him in for

questioning. He went with them and was never seen again alive. Members of the Secret Service were arrested for kidnapping him, but later released. No one, to this date, has been charged with his murder.

Doucé's courageous refusal to cooperate with the Secret Service, to betray friends and to participate in the police's distortion of reality and truth about paedophiles and paedophile behavior, cost him his life. We grievously mourn his loss. What follows is a letter that he sent to *Paidika*. He wrote the letter in English and we are publishing it as it was written. His own words speak the truth. They are, we thought, the best tribute possible to a man of great courage and integrity. In his letter he says that *Paidika* has "high moral standards and will help people to understand that love doesn't know frontiers." It was the meaning of his own life.

The Editor.

Letter to the Editor

Serving since twelve years as a Baptist minister and a psychologist-sexologist in an institution for sexual minorities in Paris, I have been counselling with over twelve thousand different people (gays, lesbians, transsexuals, transvestites, sadomasochists, but also many straight people with sexual inadequacies and dysfunctions). Among these persons I have also had the opportunity to meet about 4,500 pedophiles of all conditions and origin.

I am thankful to God, and to these persons for the trust they had, to share with me some of the most intimate and vital elements of their existence. I have surely learned more in my counselling office than in the branches of the universities.

Last January we published a book about various aspects of pedophilia. (We published earlier several other titles on transsexuality, gay and lesbian couples, and sexuality in jail.) About 20 people helped me over a period of more than two years to get the book ready. It was for me an occasion to think all aspects of pedophilia thoroughly through (legal, psychological, reli-

gious, historical, literary, history of the pedophile movement in various countries as well as the pedophile press). It was at this point of our research that I came across *Paidika: The Journal of Paedophilia*.

There are two different pedophile publications: pornographical ones made usually to satisfy sexual frustrations and commercially well exploited but leaving people with their ignorance. Another type of publication, mainly produced by poor organizations, however militant and well minded, are usually of short survival. They try, however, to provide understanding and insight in the first place for pedophiles, but also usually for the non initiated layman. One of the best examples in this field is surely the French speaking Belgian publication *l'Espoir*, which lasted for years, until the editor became ill and finally came in serious legal trouble.

Paidika is of a different nature. Published in a very respectable form, with articles from qualified scholars, it is a journal that will be a landmark in the understanding of pedophilia as a human experience. It is obvious that those looking for sexual arousal will better never open it: they will be disappointed. I am convinced that *Paidika* will be sought by bibliophiles and collectors of rare books and thus most copies will probably in the long run land in libraries all over the world. This is surely fine, as it will remain as an heritage for all those who will do research on human sexual behavior.

However, more important still, seems to me that this periodical will help people to come to grasp something of the deeper meaning of all sexual experience, present in every human being from his/her very youth until death. Pedophilia is a difficult issue in the Western world. A serious and continuous study, such as *Paidika* proposes, will bring an important contribution to the understanding of the sexual drive both in youth and older persons, overcoming the generations: love, real love, is stronger than any cleavages of race, religion, age and cultural difference.

It is obvious that sex is more than just procreation. Sex is a wonderful gift of the Creator, allowing human beings to get to know each

other in an unique way. No legal system, no moral codes will be able to prevent human beings to love and to enter into loving relationships. *Paidika* isn't just another sex magazine. It has high moral standards and will help people to understand that love doesn't know frontiers. *Paidika* should be in every university library, every human sciences department.

We wonder why early youths feel attracted to older people who provide firmness and a feeling of security. We wonder in the same way why adults often experience a feeling, an attraction to very young children. We wonder even more why these feelings are often rejected and even persecuted by public opinion, law and police. And why various societies in history and in the world consider these feelings with such a tremendous different appreciation from esteem to horrified condemnation.

Let us hope that *Paidika* will be able to provide studies on firm ground on these issues with the help of anthropological and ethnical research studies. Here there is surely space for freedom and research which might not be possible in every scientific journal. The task will surely not be easy, but at least it is worthwhile as a challenge!

I wish *Paidika* and its Editorial Board the wisdom, strength and courage to persevere, as well as the peace, light and joy of God's blessing—source of all human love and delight!

Rev. Joseph Doucé, Paris, June 1988.

THE CRIES AFFAIRE IN BELGIUM

Casimir Elsen

It is obvious that this is one of the most important—or even *the* most important—case of indecent assault in recent years. The investigation started some months ago and initially was centered on the activities of CRIES, an association located on Elsenesteenweg in Brussels, which has, as they themselves admit, the purpose of aiding young people and adults with paedophile tendencies. In reality this center apparently had no other purpose than encouraging homosexual affairs between adults and very young children.¹

This television news report was the first announcement of a morals case that for many months afterwards provided sensational material for the media. It ultimately ended in heavy prison sentences for the paedophiles involved and the destruction of Belgium's only French-speaking paedophile emancipation group.

Paedophilia and the Belgian Criminal Code

In order to understand the implications of the accusations and the involvement of CRIES, it is useful to begin by examining Belgian legislation on paedophilia and the way it is applied by the criminal courts. One could simply state that paedosexual contacts are not allowed in Belgium. However, Belgium's morals law, dating from 1867, is complex, especially regarding the involvement of minors. This is primarily the result of the use of a number of concepts not defined by law, the interpretation of which is left to the individual judge. The terms "paedophilia" and "paedosexuality" do not appear in the law. Instead, the law uses such vague terms as "indecent assault" and "outrage to public decency."²

In regard to sexual contacts with children, the sections of the penal code primarily concerned are 372 and 373, which refer to indecent assault against children under sixteen. A first conclusion can be drawn from this: the age of consent in Belgium is sixteen. Below this age all sexual contacts are illegal. Consent or possible provocation on the part of the minor are irrelevant from the viewpoint of the criminal process; the only valid criterion is age. Certain sexual acts are still illegal above the age of sixteen, but these are covered by other sections of the law. The difference between Section 372 and 373 is the distinction between "without violence and threat" (Sec. 372) and "with violence and threat" (Sec. 373). It is left to the judge to determine the exact meaning of "violence" and "threat," and in the CRIES case this had far-reaching consequences.

Even when there is no accusation of sexual contact with a person under sixteen, the charge of "outrage to public decency" can, in some circumstances, be applied, particularly in cases of nudity in the presence of children (exhibitionism) or of otherwise legal sexual contacts taking place in the presence of children. Another crime, with which UNICEF director Jozef V. and some of the parents were charged, is "depraving the morals of youth and prostitution" (Sec. 379). This section penalizes those who are aware of illegal sexual contacts with minors but fail to report them. According to the Belgian penal code, anyone aware of violations against the morals law, but who does not interfere, is himself guilty of "outrage to public decency."

The provisions of the Belgian penal code regarding pornography are equally complex and extensive. Briefly summarized, the mere possession of pornographic material is not punishable in itself. Anyone

is, however, punishable who: exhibits, sells, circulates, or who fabricates, stocks, imports or orders for import, transports or orders for transport, delivers to a transport or distribution company or advertises in any way in consideration of trade or circulation, depictions or objects offending against public decency. (Section 383 SWB)

Although Belgian morals law is very strict, in general the courts have tended to act rather leniently. The criminal code's harsh penalties are rarely imposed, and mitigating circumstances are usually given generous consideration. The prison sentences imposed are often only a matter of months rather than years.³ Furthermore, the courts have at their disposal a wide range of possible punishments, including, for instance, the possibility of postponing the verdict for a certain period or suspending the sentence, provided that certain conditions are fulfilled by the accused. The harsh penalties imposed in the CRIES case are not the usual practice.

Preliminary Investigation of the CRIES Case

CRIES (*Centre de Recherche et d'Information sur l'Enfance et la Sexualité*) was the only group in French-speaking Belgium which worked for paedophile emancipation. Founded in 1979 under the name *Groupe d'Étude sur la Pédophilie* (the acronym CRIES was first used in 1982), it saw as its most important goal the distribution of accurate, non-moralistic information about paedophilia to the general public. In two instances help was given to paedophiles. During the eight years of its existence CRIES carried out its activities openly, and with respect for the existing laws.

The Center housed a library of hundreds of scientific and literary works and articles of a psychological, sociological, and legal nature which dealt with child sexuality and paedophilia. This documentation was at the disposal of anyone who had an interest in it. CRIES was always ready to give individual counselling to anyone bothered by the problems surrounding paedophilia or to take part in group meetings in which such

problems were dealt with in constructive, even-handed ways. It was constantly stressed during group meetings that one must always respect the freedom of the child and never use any kind of force or manipulation. At the same time, CRIES pleaded for decriminalization of mutually consensual relations between adults and minors, while counselling that the power of the law should never be forgotten. Finally, CRIES published an informative and estimable magazine, *L'Espoir*, which was distributed via subscriptions and through some dozen bookstores.

The Affaire began on 24 February 1987.⁴ The Vice Squad of the Brussels police searched the offices of CRIES on Elsenesteenweg, and the homes of fifteen individuals. Philippe C., the founder and driving spirit of CRIES, was arrested, together with two other persons. In the following days more people were arrested. These were the first outward signs of an investigation which had been conducted in secret for several months.

Police attention first focused on CRIES as early as 29 September 1986. In order to inform a broader public of the positions and objectives of the organization, Philippe C. had circulated a letter to several persons and associations, together with some clippings from *l'Espoir*. One of the organizations to which he sent the material was the *Mouvement de Défense des Droits de l'Enfant* ("Movement for the Defense of Children's Rights"). Outraged by the objectives of CRIES, the chairman of the *Mouvement* filed charges. The police took speedier action because of statements of a detainee at the Nijvel prison and information from someone called Jean Claude B., a police informant. CRIES was placed under permanent surveillance, which led to the house searches and the arrests on 24 February and the days following.⁵

Numerous documents, photographs, and magazines were seized during the house searches. The subscriber list of *l'Espoir* was also seized. On the basis of these seizures, on 9 March 1987 a spokesperson for the Prosecutor's Office circulated a sensational press release announcing the break-up of a suspected child pornography and prostitution ring which recruited children for rental to some four hundred customers. They

claimed this ring, CRIES, had used emancipation and aid to paedophiles as a cover for illegal activities resulting in unimaginable sexual abuse of children.

The investigation conducted in the following months produced little evidence to substantiate this sensational claim. The *Gerechtelijke Politie*, directed by the examining magistrate Mrs. Veronique Paulus de Chatelet, left no stone unturned in their efforts to acquire evidence.⁶ In the course of 1987, dozens of people were brought in for questioning. Hundreds of pictures, slides, and movies, many of them non-pornographic, were seized, and painstaking attempts were made to identify the children depicted. Only for a few photographs, made by the defendants themselves for private, noncommercial use, were the police able to discover the identity of the children portrayed. These children were brought in for questioning as well.

Much of the preliminary investigation centered on the role of Jozef V., then director of the Belgian branch of UNICEF, the United Nations child welfare organization. The supposed involvement of UNICEF with a child pornography case was sensationalized by the press, especially foreign media, which preferred to call this the "UNICEF case" instead of the "CRIES case." The claim that, of all places, the premises of UNICEF had been used to produce child pornography and engage in illicit sexual activities, was sufficiently sensational to attract media attention. However, the *presumption* that UNICEF as an organization was involved was erroneous. The official investigators never made this claim.

The actual pornography and prostitution charges involved only one UNICEF employee, Michel F., who was UNICEF's handyman and who had installed a photographic lab in the basement. The director, Jozef V. was accused of protecting the activities of Michel F. After a long interrogation, Michel F. admitted to sexual contacts with children and making pornographic photographs in the basement lab. The investigators concluded that Jozef V. must have known what was going on in the basement, and that he was therefore guilty of abetting child abuse. Throughout the course of the investigation and

trials, Jozef V. categorically denied he had ever known anything about Michel F.'s after-hours activities in the basement.⁷

Following the preliminary investigation, which continued for a year, 18 persons were indicted and summoned to appear before the Criminal Court of Brussels. These defendants can be divided into three categories:

1. *The paedophiles*: This group, 11 in number, included both members and non-members of CRIES, as well as some persons who happened to be on the CRIES premises during the first house searches. The charges against all 11 of these defendants included: sexual contacts with children (indecent assault), encouraging sexual child abuse, child prostitution, rape, public indecency, and beating and hurting minors. Moreover, the four principal activists of CRIES were charged with forming a criminal organization.

2. *The parents*: Five parents were accused of having known that some of the defendants engaged in illicit sexual contacts with their children. These parents' failure to interfere made them accessories to the crimes.

3. *Two others*: Jozef V. and Jacques D., who used a gun to resist a house search which produced no evidence. The latter was subsequently charged with being "in defiance of the law" and "illegally possessing firearms." His case was treated separately.

In total, 30 children were involved, some in single contacts, others in multiple contacts, still others simply the object of various accusations. In the case against the UNICEF handyman, Michael F., ten children were involved; in the case of Claude D., around five.

All in all, only 11 paedophiles were formally charged, this in glaring contrast to the initial police announcement of 400 suspects. That alone should have raised questions about the integrity of the original investigation. Although the police never admitted to having acted too hastily, there are some suggestions as to why they initially implied such a high number of suspects.

As mentioned above, 47-year-old Philippe C. was the prime mover of CRIES. He was of vital importance to the organization and to the

monthly production of *l'Espoir*. The list of *l'Espoir* subscribers ran to about four hundred addresses, in Belgium and abroad.⁸ In the autumn of 1986, Philippe C. fell seriously ill and could no longer continue his activities at CRIES. He therefore handed the list of subscribers over to someone else, who happened to be acquainted with Michel F. When, at the end of February, a number of house searches took place, the police found not only incriminating photographs, but also the list of CRIES subscribers. Perhaps the simultaneous discovery of pornography and the address list caused the examining magistrate to conclude that CRIES itself had functioned as a child pornography and prostitution ring. For this reason, everyone on the list automatically became a suspect as well.

However, as the investigation progressed it became clear that the vast majority of CRIES members and *l'Espoir* subscribers had no involvement whatever with the case, and that the whole affair was confined to individual, unrelated acts. The police, however, never abandoned their thesis that CRIES was an "international child pornography and prostitution ring." During the investigation, several clearly serious cases of sexual child abuse came to light. It cannot, therefore, be claimed that all the defendants were victims of prejudice and juridical oppression.

Philippe C. had even criticized the activities of two of the defendants in the April 1986 issue of *l'Espoir*, and had therefore already dissociated himself from these co-defendants before the CRIES case had even begun in February 1987! The police made little effort to clarify the exact nature of the sexual contacts with minors of the defendants. Age limits alone, as set out in the penal code, became the sole cause for bringing charges of "indecent assault."

The Trial before the Criminal Court

The trial against the 18 defendants commenced on 25 January 1988, before the 54th chamber of the Brussels Criminal Court.⁹ The court was chaired by Mrs. Sieglinde Voorspoels, and Mrs. Jacqueline Talon acted as Prosecutor. For six

weeks media attention focused on the trial, which ran for no less than fifteen sittings, an unusually long time for trials in Belgium.

During the court proceedings the defendants were questioned about the charges, and confronted with their own statements and testimony from the preliminary investigation. A striking aspect of the CRIES trial is that hardly any witnesses were brought before the court: only a few UNICEF employees and a psychiatrist. The absence of face-to-face confrontation with witnesses providing incriminating evidence probably accounts for the fact that little new light was shed on the charges.¹⁰ The defendants confined themselves to confessing to or denying the facts described in the investigation files. However, all defendants agreed in their statements that CRIES had not functioned as a child prostitution and pornography ring.

The hearing for the 11 paedophiles and the 5 parents took less than three days. The court needed almost four days to consider Jozef V.'s role in the case. Jozef V. himself denied all involvement, and angrily denounced paedophilia. During the preliminary investigation, however, several UNICEF employees had given incriminating evidence against him. When these employees testified under oath, they all qualified or altered their original statements so that it was unclear whether or not Jozef V. had been acquainted with Michel F.'s illegal activities. Their original statements to the police, which these employees alleged to be the truth, they now admitted were merely assumptions and rumors.

The Prosecutor's summary of the case and demand for sentence was scathing, and she insisted on stiff sentences against all defendants. She demanded three year's imprisonment as an absolute minimum. She held that all the defendants bore tremendous guilt in view of the consequences for the children involved. She said that the children had been mentally, morally, and emotionally tortured, and that this was particularly unforgivable because wounds sustained during childhood are incurable; they deaden a part of the child's soul. Even against Philippe C., whose inoffensive and gentle behavior with

children was, according to Mrs. Talon, beyond questioning, a stiff sentence was demanded, because of his responsibility as the central figure in CRIES.

According to the Prosecutor, the very objectives of CRIES meant that those who went there for help would end up doing something illegal. She argued that CRIES was an organization of criminals attempting to alter society and change the laws to suit their own purpose. They wanted to allow paedophilia provided that the child consented. Mrs. Talon warned against the corruption of society:

In a world in which instant gratification, pleasure and unbridled greed prevail, and in which, at the same time, morality and religious sentiment decay, we have to re-examine certain kinds of behavior in order, at least, to assure the protection of children. Total freedom for adults, no matter what? ... We are obliged to offer our children a world in which moral values are still meaningful.¹¹

Before the defense could take the floor, the lawyer for UNICEF was allowed to address the court. Because of supposed damage to the reputation of UNICEF, the organization claimed moral compensation from both Michel F. and Jozef V. The lawyer's plea was emotional and scathing, and directed not just against Jozef F. and Michel V., but against paedophilia as well:

I speak in the name of all the little children, of all the little victims, and of the ones who are still to fall. Paedophilia is the most repulsive kind of slavery. Children are reduced to mere sex objects at the cost of torture, humiliation, and pain, and all this just for money. Sex tourism does bring in a lot of money.¹²

After the harsh demands of the Prosecutor, and the statements of the UNICEF lawyer, the lawyers for the defense faced the difficult task of adding nuance to the stark pictures painted of their clients, reducing the facts to their proper proportions, and pleading

mitigating circumstances. Exchanges between the defense and the chief judge, Mrs. Voorspoels, who was openly annoyed by the statements of the defense, and who repeatedly objected, followed one another in quick succession. According to her, the defense tried repeatedly to downplay the facts. She was especially annoyed when one of the lawyers questioned the validity of the children's testimony, by pointing out that if children are so easily influenced by paedophiles, they most certainly are malleable in the hands of the police, who can question them in any way they like. This was too much for the judge, who cried out: "I cannot tolerate the fact that the defense depicts children as liars. Bad faith has grown so much out of proportion, that children's good intentions become distorted!" On the other hand, several lawyers denounced the obnoxious behavior of the Prosecutor's Office and the press: the prosecution, because of its premature announcement of a child pornography and prostitution ring, and the press, because of its sensational coverage which blew the case out of all proportion.

The Verdict

On 7 March 1988 the court pronounced judgment. The sentences were, by Belgian standards, extremely heavy. The accused paedophiles were dealt with especially harshly: Philippe C. was sentenced to nine year's imprisonment, and the other paedophiles received sentences ranging from three to ten years. Some of the parents were also dealt with harshly, being given suspended sentences of up to three years. One of the mothers was acquitted, and another woman, though judged guilty, was discharged on the basis of Article 71, which provides that no crime has been committed when the accused is in a state of insanity at the time of the crime, or when forced by a power beyond resistance. UNICEF director Jozef V. was given a suspended sentence of two years.

In order to understand the reasons for the severity of these sentences, we must look at the motivations behind the verdict. We must especially consider how CRIES and paedophilia were viewed.

During the trial, Mrs. Voorspoels had abso-

lutely nothing good to say about paedosexual contacts. The verdict also made this crystal-clear, and strongly stressed harm to the child:

The Court considers ...a harmonious emotional, intellectual, and sexual maturation for the child to be essential for his future balance... Simply wiping out the essential differences between the genetic sexual possibilities of the prepubertal child and the adult libido is the most striking feature of the "philosophy" defended by paedophiles. In reality the "seduced" child, the passive victim of "adult domination," is persuaded to compromise, in order to keep enjoying additional benefits such as gifts, and the no doubt mixed attention to which the child is subjected. The consequences of this kind of abuse are immeasurable for these children, who already feel unloved, and become deeply frustrated, disillusioned in their expectations, used in this vile way for the simple satisfaction of the *most primitive* [emphasis in the original] inclinations of the accused; dishonored, plunged at a tender age into a reality which will rob them in the future of every normalizing illusion about their own behavior, emotionally blocked for the rest of their lives, because everything concerning sexuality causes profound emotional reactions; alienated at the threshold of puberty, alone with their burdensome and unspeakable secret, forever strangers to their peers.¹³

In addition to these considerations of harm to the child, the verdict also described the personality of paedophiles in the most pejorative terms:

There are no surprises here, if one knows from psychiatric reports that within this kind of problem, the other is not experienced as a being, gifted with a sexuality of his own, but as an object, sometimes only a partial object, to be used exclusively for the immediate satisfaction of

the perverse instinct. Every feeling of guilt is exterminated by the projection of their own responsibility onto others, namely that society and its inhibitions alone are responsible for their offenses. They project their desires onto their victims, whose every gesture, every emotional impulse is immediately interpreted as a provocation.

When a court pronounces judgment on the basis of such considerations, heavy sentences come as no surprise.

A further element played an important role in the determination of sentences: the activities of CRIES as an organization. The defense requested individual consideration of the charges, separate from the charges against other defendants and from the full context of the accusations. What the defence really wanted was that there be no "CRIES trial" but that all the cases of the paedophiles be handled separately, that each paedophile be tried in his own case unconnected with the other cases. This was because all of the contacts involved different people, took place in different places and at different times, without any of the accused being aware of the contacts of the others whom in some instances they didn't even know. The court accepted this argument for two of the accused, but, "regarding the other followers of CRIES, because of the national and international ties within the paedophile world, it is only appropriate to judge their behavior in the light of what this kind of perversion in reality represents, or may represent, when it is organized around a structure with international connections."

In expressing its opinion about CRIES as an organization, the court based its judgment on both the intentions and ideas published by CRIES in leaflets, working papers and *l'Espoir* magazine, and also on facts from the police record. In her judgment of the objectives and ideology of CRIES, Mrs. Voorspoels showed undisguised contempt:

The ideological and promotional literature included in the file represents CRIES as in some ways the weather-vane of libertar-

ian fashion. They wish to establish as a symbol of humanity the paedophile as a legal martyr, someone who surpasses perversion and the pursuit of personal pleasure, who has a mission exclusively in the service of the fostering of the child's sexuality. The only people who may be deceived by these pseudo-intellectual justifications are, at best, those who are already disturbed or antisocial, seeking an alibi for their own maladjustment, or those malcontents who stand behind the countless so-called "new" ideas heaped up in the market of sexual liberation, and are afraid to appear old fashioned or reactionary.

From these and other considerations, the court decided that "in the light of certain facets of this case, CRIES actually appears to cloak a child prostitution ring." Not one thing in the files justifies this conclusion. The charges of "indecent assault" and "public indecency" both refer to acts committed by individual people in their private lives, in different places, and at different times. The only link between the defendants is that they were all members of CRIES, or had met each other through CRIES. But this was sufficient reason for the court to conclude "that the charges against the accused are consistent with the stated purpose of CRIES, an unincorporated society of people with paedophile inclinations." On these grounds, several defendants were also convicted for being members of a criminal organization.

Commentary on the Trial and Verdict

In a case where the difficult and delicate, but fundamental, difference between paedophilia and sexual child abuse is the crux of the matter, one might expect that, even more so than in other cases, the court would do its utmost to conduct the proceedings in a dignified way. It is not often that a Belgian court has violated these principles in such an egregious manner as during the CRIES case. Right from the beginning, Mrs. Voorspoels displayed undisguised contempt. Every accusation against the accused was immediately assumed to be true; any point in their

favor provoked only sharp questions and skepticism.

The press repeatedly pointed out Mrs. Voorspoels' lack of objectivity:

Mrs. Sieglinde Voorspoels bears the primary responsibility for giving the impression of not being very objective. During the defense lawyers' pleas, it seems as if she barely listens. She goes through her papers, or starts chatting with one of her associates. If she does pay attention to them, it is to interrupt, and give her commentary on what they say.¹⁴

Another remarkable aspect of the proceedings was the way in which the court dealt with the evidence of the witnesses. In the course of the preliminary investigation, a number of people had given very incriminating evidence against the accused. The defendants contested the evidence, and called these witnesses liars. Given such counteraccusations one might expect the court to hear the witnesses under oath, but this did not occur.¹⁵ Mrs. Voorspoels confined herself to reading parts of their testimony aloud, without even once questioning its truthfulness. Mrs. Voorspoels clearly had been annoyed by the discrepancy between the strongly incriminating testimony given by UNICEF employees during the preliminary investigation, and their qualifications while under oath. The court gave the distinct impression of favoring all detrimental testimony, and of trying to prevent any moderation or alteration of this testimony.

One could also question what the court accepted as evidence of a prostitution ring. In fact, only one of the files confirmed a case of prostitution, namely when one of the defendants admitted to having paid a 13-year-old boy 5,000 Belgian Francs (US\$125). During the course of the investigation and trial, it was repeatedly claimed that Michel F. had paid large amounts of money to the parents of the children he abused, and that he had rewarded the children themselves with all sorts of gifts (computers, transistor radios, money, etc.). Michel F. confirmed that he had indeed given money to the parents, and

gifts to the children, but he strenuously denied buying "sexual favors" from the children. He claimed he intended only to come to the temporary financial aid of a poverty-stricken family. For several years he had been well acquainted with the parents, who were neighbors. However, the court found "the accused Michel F. had discovered this child and his little sister in his neighborhood, and over a period of several years the parents had rented their children to the accused, for the purposes mentioned above."

If there really had been anything like a ring, a list of members would surely have resulted from the investigation. None did. Here as elsewhere, the court acted solely on the basis of assumptions, without any concrete evidence whatsoever. In the verdict, Mrs. Voorspoels wrote as follows:

The uncertainties of the investigation have prevented all elements from coming to light, because of the disappearance of computerized information by the erasing of programs, or the destruction of disks before the house searches.

Thus the court admitted that it had no evidence whatsoever of a "catalogue" of "available children." It relied on mere assumptions, which nonetheless were presented as incriminating evidence: there *might* have been a list, which *might* have contained the names of children, which *might* have been available to members of CRIES. Philippe C. denied the existence of such a list. To substantiate its accusation, the court referred to statements of one of the children involved, and to F.'s confession. For the sake of convenience, the court failed to mention what else F. had said about this list: it was not a list of children available for prostitution, but a birthday list of children he knew. Moreover, even if we assume that, in the worst case, this really was a list of children available for prostitution, this still does not prove that this list had been composed by, under the authority of, or on behalf of CRIES.

One element of the verdict needs further discussion, because it clearly indicates that the CRIES case was not simply a judgment of and sen-

tencing for acts of sexual child abuse, but a condemnation of paedophilia itself. The verdict's condemnation of paedophilia, mentioned above, is once more repeated in the statement regarding the court's motives for giving Philippe C. such a harsh sentence:

The court considers that... it is appropriate to emphasize C.'s special role, as a guiding light in the paedophile world, which attaches a wholly deceitful legal appearance to totally deviant behavior, which seriously disrupts the social order, and which, under the banner of innovative intellectualism, disguises a new form of slavery.

Here it is obvious that Philippe C.'s opinions and ideas, defended through CRIES and *l'Espoir*, were being sentenced by the court. It can be said that freedom of speech was also on trial in the CRIES case.

One last remark should be made regarding the handling of the CRIES case before the Criminal Court. Because of the sensational way in which the media treated the case, the physical safety of the accused paedophiles was repeatedly endangered. In a letter to the author, dated 28 August 1988, Philippe C. wrote:

As our appeal approaches I feel terribly anxious. I am somewhat afraid of the reactions of the other prisoners, who will once again be stirred up against us by the press. During the first stage of the investigation we suffered from their intense hatred, insulting language, all kinds of teasing, and an occasional beating.¹⁶

The Hearing before the Appeals Court

Considering the extremely heavy sentences pronounced by the criminal court, it was to be expected that most of the defendants would appeal the initial verdict. However, the Prosecutor, feeling that some of the sentences imposed were too *lenient*, lodged an appeal against some of the verdicts as well.

The hearing before the Brussels Appellate

Court began on 14 September 1988 and lasted six sittings.¹⁷ The presiding judge was Mrs. Closset-Coppin, assisted by Mrs. Tilot De Ceuleneer and Mr. Delvoie. Mr. Vauthier acted as Prosecutor.

In contrast to the first trial, the proceedings went forward in a serene atmosphere. Hardly any exchanges occurred between Mrs. Closset-Coppin and the defense lawyers. However, the Prosecutor's summary and demand for sentence, which was the most striking feature of the appeal, was emotional and scathing. It lumped all paedophiles together without the slightest differentiation. Using very harsh terms, he demanded heavier sentences for most of the accused:

CRIES, a so-called center for the study of sexuality, was devised by the defendant Philippe C. to snare children, in order to satisfy his and his friends' paedophile inclinations and escape unpunished, and to ship them to France and the Netherlands... He has distributed leaflets which are an outrage to morals. . . His gang even claimed that the children provoked the assaults. The man is a social danger. Before the lower court he was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment. That is not enough. I demand that the court impose a considerably heavier sentence.

The Prosecutor also showed no mercy for UNICEF director Jozef V. According to him, Jozef V. was fundamentally responsible for what had happened to children on the UNICEF premises, and he should therefore be considered an accessory, a member of the gang of paedophiles. He deserved a much heavier sentence than his initial sentence of two years imprisonment, suspended. Regarding one of the mothers, who had consented to the production of nude pictures of her daughter, and who had been acquitted by the Criminal Court, he declared, "You must be insane to think that you will get off scot free again!" He demanded the sentencing of all the accused parents, even of the woman who had been acquitted of all charges on the grounds of insanity, although he acknowledged mitigating

circumstances due to her severe psychopathological disturbances.

As in the first trial, the defense lawyers attempted to put the matter in perspective and fiercely denied the accusation of conspiracy. Once again they pleaded for the acquittal of the parents and Jozef V. The lawyer for the latter was especially critical of Mrs. Voorspoels' verdict. He claimed that the verdict had been founded on hate, lies and mistakes, and that his client was the victim of a conspiracy.

The Decision of the Appellate Court

On 27 October 1988, Mrs. Closset-Coppin presented the appellate court's decision. After the scathing summary and the harsh demands of the Prosecutor, no one expected any commutation of sentences for the accused. This was borne out. In some cases the court accepted the demands of the Prosecutor and lengthened the sentences. Philippe C., for example, was given ten year's imprisonment. Three defendants received the same sentence as before, and the sentence of two others was suspended. At last, UNICEF director Jozef V. was fully acquitted of all charges. The court considered that his guilt had not been proven, and quashed the verdict of the lower court.

Although the decision of the appellate court is in many ways similar to that of the lower court, there are significant differences. In the first place, every allusion to CRIES as an "international child prostitution and pornography ring" has disappeared. The decision centers instead on the contention that CRIES was an "association with the purpose of committing assault on persons or property."¹⁸

To substantiate this accusation, the Court, when addressing the culpability of Philippe C., noted that the accused CRIES members *did* have sexual contacts with children, and that certain behaviors were recommended to its members in order to avoid suspicion. On a fundamental level, the court harkened back to the letter which initiated the investigation of CRIES:

The letter, which was sent to the Movement for the Defense of the Rights of

Children on 29 September 1986, refers to the generally intolerant attitude of the outside world towards relationships between older persons outside the family and young people, and clearly indicates that C., as head of CRIES, favored such relationships.

The combination of, on the one hand, a positive view of such relationships and the attempt to foster a positive social image of paedophile relationships, and, on the other hand, the fact that sexual contacts with children had indeed occurred, brought the court of appeal to the conclusion that CRIES was a criminal organization. And that is why Philippe C. was given the maximum penalty.

A second difference between the appellate decision and the earlier verdict is the interpretation of the notion of "those who have authority over the children." The lower court had given this concept a remarkably broad interpretation:

Regarding the abuse of authority, ...the court desires to point out that some of the actions charged occurred inside the defendants' premises, and without the parents' presence, and that these circumstances imply a certain authority over the children.

The Court of Appeal deemed this interpretation of the concept of "authority" to be "too far-reaching," and rejected this as an aggravating circumstance which could be added to some of the charges.

Commentary on the Decision of the Court of Appeal

The decision of the Court of Appeal strengthens the impression that the stiff sentences were determined by the defendants' opinions on paedophilia, rather than by the acts they had committed. From this point of view, the whole CRIES case became much more a trial of beliefs rather than a trial of sexual child abuse. This is illustrated by the fact that the decision, when dealing with the charges against Philippe C., spent only a few

lines on his sexual contacts, and almost two full pages on his involvement with CRIES.

What was at stake was the defendants' right to make an ideological as opposed to a pragmatic defense. Both courts looked upon the ideological defense as an aggravating circumstance, a "persisting in malice," that led them to pass exceedingly heavy sentences. On the other hand, a pragmatic attitude—plead guilty, promise to mend one's mind and behavior, receive therapy, above all not question the criminality of one's actions—was interpreted in a more favorable light and resulted in suspended sentences for some of the defendants.

Another striking element in need of further clarification is the way in which the charges were accompanied by qualifications that further incriminated the defendants. The sexual contacts of which Philippe C. was accused were referred to as "indecent assault with violence or threat," although he had consistently denied any use of violence or threat. The court took the view that this qualification had to be maintained:

...as an adult had such moral and physical authority that the very young children, moreover his nephews, entrusted to his care, had no choice but to submit to his will.

Thus the court suggests that the notion of "with violence or threat" stems from the innate authority of the adult over the child. One wonders why this qualification was not applied to some of the other accused, who did not attempt to defend their beliefs. It would seem that profound suppositions, or prejudices, by the courts about adulthood and childhood lay behind the fact that the charges were exaggerated, to justify the demand for heavier sentences.

A final noteworthy aspect of the CRIES decision is the way in which the court demonstrated its intention to hold to the letter of the law and refused to consider the changes in social attitudes during the last few decades. The decision regarding the charges against Olivier R., for example, states:

...that the child consented and did not feel embarrassed cannot be taken into account in the process of determining the sentence. The law must be applied as it is. . . Public opinion about the age at which young people normally start having sexual relationships with partners of the same or different sex, cannot be taken into account.

This rigorous clinging to the letter of the law is all the more remarkable, in light of the fact that many similar cases have been discharged on the basis of changes in social attitude. It only strengthens the impression that the case was not about the facts themselves, but rather about setting an example to deter anyone who might dare to share the ideas of CRIES.

The Social Consequences of the CRIES Case

The actions of the Belgian authorities against CRIES, and all the publicity surrounding the case, are still too recent to allow a balanced consideration of the effects of this case on the debate over paedophilia. Some short term results, especially those regarding the Belgian paedophile movement, are already obvious.

Since the destruction of CRIES, no organization dealing specifically with paedophilia has emerged in French-speaking Belgium, and it seems unlikely that this situation will change soon. The group of paedophile activists campaigning for emancipation was already small, and most of them were involved with CRIES. Many of these activists have been given long prison sentences, and those who avoided the judicial merry-go-round now refrain from any form of militant action. Considering the court's merciless verdict against members of an organization which tried to present a positive view of paedophilia, it is unlikely that anyone would be willing to run the risks of establishing a similar organization. For French-speaking paedophiles, the loss of CRIES has meant a return to isolation, to a double life in which every paedophile act must be suppressed.

Although they were not directly involved in

the CRIES case, the Flemish paedophile groups were also affected. On the one hand their existence has become much more complicated. The CRIES case inevitably casts a shadow on their activities as well. It must make people wonder whether they will suffer the same fate. They are now constrained within their internal organization, confronted with a situation in which every positive reference to paedophilia may result in an accusation—or conviction—for being a criminal organization. As a result of the CRIES case, Flemish paedophile groups are faced with declining numbers of willing activists, growing suspicion and aversion on the part of the public, and increasing fear and insecurity among their members.

The CRIES case also exemplifies the recent trend towards retrenchment in the sexual sphere. In the 1960s and 1970s, under the influence of the sexual revolution, deviations from the norm became reason enough to examine the norm itself. Traditional moral control was followed by a wave of permissiveness. In the 1980s, this liberalization was increasingly regarded as problematic. Mrs. Talon, Prosecutor in the CRIES case, repeatedly questioned the social concept of permissiveness. Frans van Mechelen, Chairman of the *Belgische Bond van Grote en Jonge Gezinnen* ("Belgian Association of Large and Young Families") pleaded a reconsideration of values in the weekly, *De Bond*, of 11 March 1988:

Sometimes it really is necessary to point out society's excesses with more than usual emphasis, and to complain about a certain general moral slackness. We can certainly say that we have entered a "permissive" society, and even that the breaking of certain taboos does not always cause harm. But! There are limits to this permissiveness, which simply cannot be trespassed. Anyone who picks up a newspaper at random can see for himself how far this permissiveness stretches, and how it brings for our society ruinous results.¹⁹

He went on to refer explicitly to sex and violence on television, to increasing drug abuse,

and to the CRIES case, as examples of crumbling values. Thus the CRIES case became an argument in the hands of those who favor restrictive moral control and a return to old values. The debate over paedophilia, stifled at best in Belgium, has been further constrained as a result of this case.

Conclusion

UNICEF's lawyer spoke of a "trial of shame" in his presentation to the Criminal Court. We are inclined to agree with this statement, though for different reasons. There are three reasons for speaking of "shame."

First: shame on those among the defendants who really have been guilty of sexual child abuse. They have forgotten one of the most essential elements of being a paedophile: showing respect for their young friends.

Second: shame on the press, which showed its worst side by blowing the case out of all proportion. They never once attempted to differentiate between paedophilia and sexual child abuse.

Third: shame on the court, which made this case a travesty of justice. This was especially so in the first trial, during which Mrs. Voorspoels made no attempt to be calm and objective, or to pass judgment on the basis of solid evidence instead of personal beliefs. When, as a consequence of the destruction of CRIES, other paedophiles are further isolated, and as a result of their isolation behave irresponsibly towards children or suffer personally, these judges bear some of the blame.

Editor's Note:

Casimir Elsen was Director of the Dokumentatiedienst Pedofilie in Belgium; Director of ILGA Information Pool on Gays and Lesbians and the Military; Editor, Homokrants; and publisher of the gay newspaper, Anderzijds. Translated by Gerard Moorman

NOTES

1. RTBF (radio and television network of the French-speaking community in Belgium), 10 March 1987 *Journal* at 7:00 PM.

2. *Aanranding van de eerbaarheid*, ("indecent assault") refers to every physical activity of a sexual nature contrary to common concepts of "decency" or "dignity" done with or to another person against that person's will. Although the concept of assault would seem to imply that the perpetrator acted against the will of the victim, Belgian law recognizes different forms of indecent assault where the position of the victim plays a role: this is so, for example, when a minor under the age of 16 is involved. Article 372 of the Penal Code speaks about "indecent assault without threat or violence." This definition makes it possible to punish every sexual activity which an adult (i.e., someone older than 18) has with a person under 16, even if it is with the consent of the younger participant, and even if the latter sought the sexual act and took the initiative.

Openbare zedenschennis literally means "outrage to public decency." Every action offending public decency will be punished when committed either in the presence of witnesses not voluntarily present or in a place accessible to the public (as for example in a car parked in a public parking place, dressing rooms at swimming pools, etc.). Each judge has to decide whether a particular action, publication, movie, etc., offends public decency. Likewise it is the responsibility of the "King's Attorney" (the Prosecutor) in his own judicial district to decide whether he would prosecute someone for offending public decency. There is, consequently, no uniformity in Belgium regarding such prosecutions.

3. A few examples of sentences given by different courts in the last years for assault on the decency of minors under the age of 16 years:

- Court of Correction of Antwerp, case of Reginald V. (1985): 18 months imprisonment, 6 months served and 12 on probation.

- Court of Correction of Dinant, case of Patrick F. (1985): 18 months imprisonment, 6 served and 12 on probation.

- Court of Correction of Kortrijk, case of Eric D. (1983): 24 months imprisonment, 3 served and 21 on probation.

- Court of Correction of Kortrijk, case of Walter M. (1983): 24 months imprisonment, 5 served and 19 on probation.

- Court of Correction of Bruges, case of Roman C. (1982): 18 months imprisonment, 12 served and 6 on probation.

4. The chief sources for this case are:

Reports in Belgian newspapers (*De Morgen*, *Het Nieuwsblad*, *Het Laatste Nieuws*, *Het Volk*, *Het Belang van Limburg*, *Le Soir*) and periodicals (*Homokrant*, *De Janet*, *Anderzijds*, *Le Journal des Procès*).

Personal correspondence with a direct bearing on the case (Philippe C., Michel D., Jacques D., Jan W.).

Verdict of the Rechtbank van Eerste Aanleg of Brussels, 54th correctionnelle kamer, 7 March 1988.

Personal notes kept by Michael D. during the trial.

5. Monique Huysmans, "The CRIES Affair" in *Homokrant* (Year 13, No. 10, December 1987), p. 6.

According to Jacques Delbouille of the Movement of the Friends of the Constitution, legal investigation of CRIES had been going on in an indirect manner since 1981 (when CRIES was still called *Groupe d'Étude sur la Pédophilie*), according to Dossier 37.60.439/81 of the Charleroi Prosecutor's Office.

6. *Gerechtigde Politie* ("Judicial Police") are plain-clothes policemen specifically at the service of the Royal Prosecutor's Office to investigate crimes. With complicated case files, the Prosecutor appoints an investigative judge who is helped in his task by these special-branch police. The authority of these police is more restricted than that of other branches (municipal police, national police), who, as well as investigating crimes, also have tasks connected with crime prevention, traffic control, administrative orders, etc. Municipal and national police are charged with crime prevention and the maintenance of public order, safety, and peace. The *Gerechtigde Politie* are charged with the investigation of crimes the other police could not prevent. They gather requested information to be used in possible prosecution, and hand over suspects to the courts.

7. "Direkteur Unicef-België in kassatie," *De Morgen* (1 August 1987).

8. The police investigations were not limited to Belgium, but had ramifications in several countries, even outside Europe. In France the investigation took place on a grand scale a few days after the end of the CRIES trial in Brussels. A total of 277 house searches throughout France were carried out on 9 March 1988, based upon an address list which the Belgian Justice Department, via INTERPOL, had turned over to the French authorities. The action was initiated to determine whether the suspected persons were just subscribers to *L'Espoir* or whether they, too, were guilty of "assault on the virtue of minors." The results of the action, however, were meager: with one single exception, all the persons arrested were set free.

In Switzerland, information was gathered about one Beat M. who was active in an organization in Zurich

called "The Sexual Advice Group" which published the magazine *Libido*. He was suspected of being the contact person in Switzerland for CRIES. Beat M. was arrested in England during a routine search for child pornography, but no connection between Beat M. and CRIES was ever established.

In The Netherlands, Jan W. was arrested on 3 March 1987. According to newspaper articles, he had a photo laboratory and thousands of child pornography photos were found. He was thus considered a maker and distributor of child pornography for CRIES members. In reality he had simply a private (if paedophile-oriented) collection of photos and slides taken on vacation travels over a period of thirty years.

In other countries, including Germany, Spain, Canada, and the USA, connections with CRIES were also sought. The various investigations yielded nothing.

9. Eighteen accused, to wit: 11 paedophiles, 5 parents, and two persons who had no direct connection with the children involved (Jozef V. and Jacques D.). It should be noted that at the beginning of the trial only four parents were implicated. The fifth was initially subpoenaed as a witness. Her testimony, however, was claimed to attest to her guilt, and she became one of the accused.

10. In trials in the Belgian courts, it is the bench which determines whether a witness will or will not be heard. The bench can grant a request by the defence to listen to certain witnesses, and certainly in the case of controversial testimony strongly contested by the accused, it is usual to do so in order not to violate the rights of the accused. In the CRIES affair, however, the bench at one time refused the request of the accused to call certain witnesses.

Except in unusual circumstances, no children are heard as witnesses during legal processes in Belgian courts.

11. Quoted by Guido Van Damme, in "Pédophiles: voyage dans un triste jardin d'enfants," in *Le Soir* (12 February 1988).

12. Cited by F. Buyl in "Dit is het proces van de schande," in *Het Laatste Nieuws* (10 February 1988).

13. Citation from the verdict of the Rechtbank van Eerste Aanleg of Brussels, 54th correctionnelle kamer, 7 March 1988.

14. F. Buyl, "De pers is verantwoordelijk voor het CRIES-schandaal," in *Het Laatste Nieuws* (18 February 1988).

15. In questioning during pre-trial investigations, by the investigative judge or the advisory police, witnesses are never placed under oath. Thus witnesses can never be prosecuted for perjury based on statements they made during pre-trial investigation. However, if

they are called as witnesses at the trial itself, they must give their testimony under oath (unless they are family members of the accused). This means that if there is evidence that they have lied in the court they *can* be tried for perjury. There are instances in which witnesses, caught lying under oath, were charged in court and arrested.

16. Personal letter from Philippe C. to Casimir Elsen (28 August 1988).

17. The chief sources are:

Reports in newspapers (*De Morgen*, *Het Nieuwsblad*, *Het Laatste Nieuws*) and periodicals (*De Janet*, *O.K.*)

Arrest nr. 1398 of the Hof van Beroep of Brussels, 12th correctionnelle kamer, 27 October 1988.

Personal notes kept by Michael D. during the trial.

Correspondence with Philippe C.

18. *Bendevorming* literally translates as "formation of a gang" but is analogous to the racketeering laws in American jurisprudence. Under Belgian law, the con-

cept of *bendevorming* belongs to the category of "crimes and offenses against public security." Section 322 of the Penal Code declares: "Any association with the purpose of forming a gang (*bende*) with the intent to commit an attack upon persons or properties constitutes a crime of offence." This section had far-reaching consequences in this case. Since sexual contacts with minors under the age of 16 are considered "attacks upon persons" (i.e., "indecent assault"), by failing to condemn such contacts categorically within CRIES, and by stating the possible beneficial effects of certain contacts, CRIES could be found to constitute a gang under the Penal Code. One may well ask why this accusation of forming a gang was applied to CRIES and not a myriad of other organizations; for example, abortion rights groups which operated openly prior to the partial legalization of abortion in 1990.

19. Frans Van Mechelen, "Voor een herwaardering van de waarden," in *De Bond* (11 March 1988).

nambla

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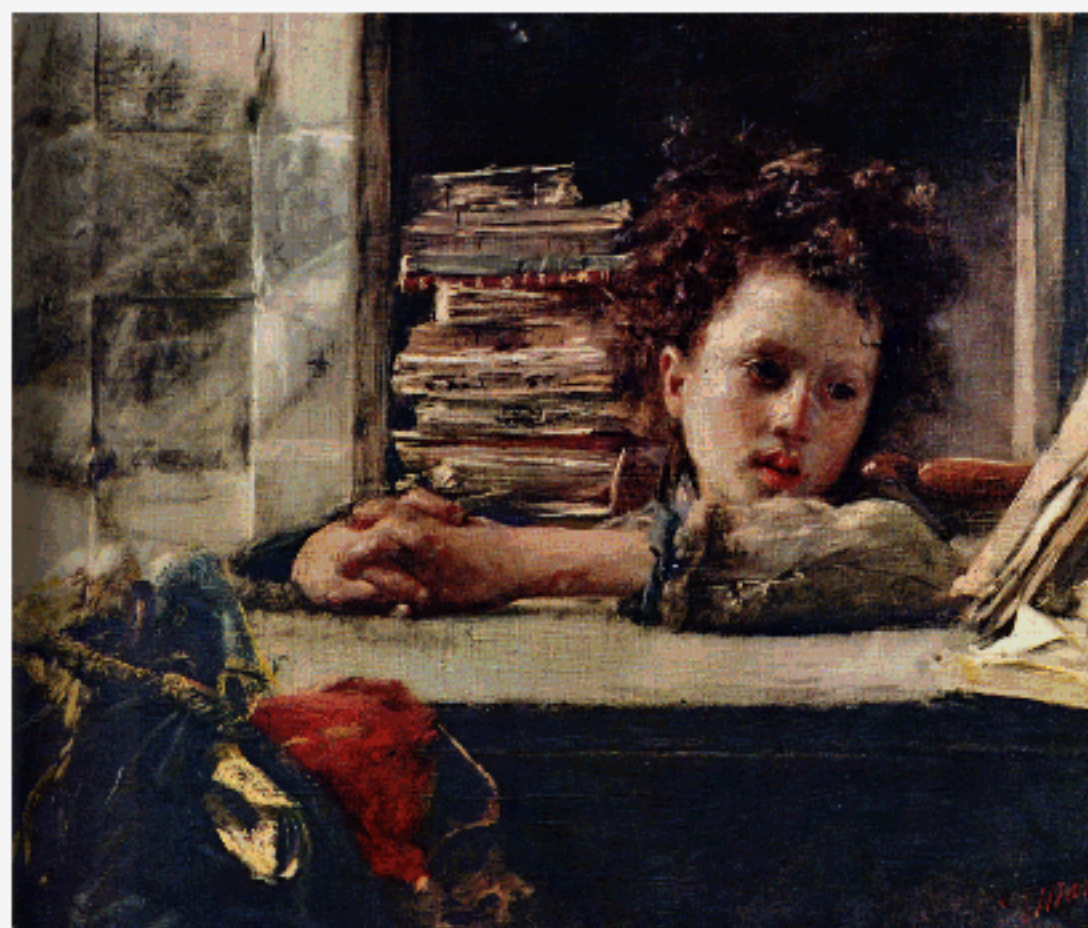
STREET-URCHINS:

Antonio Mancini (1852-1930)

Will H.L. Ogrinc

I first encountered the work of Mancini in 1975 when, as a student of medieval art history in Rome, I also visited the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea. There I was struck by his "The Study" (Fig. 1). My familiarity with Mancini's work grew in 1987 during a visit to an exhibition in Dordrecht, The Netherlands, entitled, *In het licht van Mancini* ("In the Light of Mancini"). While examining one of his paintings, "The Little Antique Dealer" (Fig. 2), it struck me how often boys figured in the paintings.

The assumption, however, that a paedophile sensibility might be behind the painter's work would seem at first glance a bit facile, despite the recurrence of young boys and girls as a subject.



1. *Lo Studio*



2. *Il Piccolo Antiquario*

His total oeuvre – not yet completely catalogued – consists of numerous portraits of women and men, including nudes; several self-portraits; landscapes, as well as the dozens of paintings of boys and girls. One of the organizers of the exhibit whom I consulted for this article, told me rather indignantly that none of the information presently available about the painter would suggest even the possibility that he might have “been that way.” As we shall see, such opinions from “experts” cannot always be taken too seriously. When people insist on wearing blinkers, and not just from prudery, it’s a good idea to take a fresh look at things, although without intending to place people in cubbyholes either.

The discovery of an important facet of a creative person’s personality and life can be of iconological interest, since it will give more information about why the artist painted this theme; why at this time, in this place, and in this particular way. What was clear from the records was that Mancini did love boys. Whether there was a sexual component to the relationships as well was not clear from the documents.

As for sources, we are more fortunate than in the case of Charles Filiger.¹ The life and works of Mancini are thoroughly documented, both by the artist himself and in reviews and biographies. G.L. Berk refers to more than 65 publications about this “Italian Renoir or Degas.” A nearly complete bibliography was provided by Hanna Pennock in the Dordrecht exhibition catalogue: it included not just the standard biographies, but also magazine articles, reviews of exhibits, newspaper articles, etc.² Nevertheless, external factors here dictated a selective list of the material. It was not possible to inspect the unpublished part of Mancini’s literary estate, deposited by his heirs in Venice.³ Secondary literary sources in Italian libraries were often unavailable. It always seemed as if some reorganization was in progress or the premises were being rebuilt. Thus the criteria for selection were often reduced to working with what could be found.

Despite the Dordrecht exhibition, and Hanna Pennock’s efforts,⁴ there has been little revival of

interest in Mancini’s work, not even in Italy where this important representative of Italian fin-de-siècle painting has, since his death, slowly been forgotten. In The Netherlands,⁵ his personality has been described as “unstable.” He is said, in these same studies, until well on in years to have teetered on the brink of bankruptcy, spending all his money on his family, his models, on women of easy virtue and other low types. The image that emerges is of someone revelling in his poverty, an egotistical eccentric, someone constantly complaining about being misunderstood, or about the greed of art sellers and the evil people who attempted to suppress artistic truth.

The Dutch image of him as an artist, as opposed to his personality, is perhaps more complimentary. He was perceived as a virtuoso who could handle any subject, who frankly depicted his emotional and artistic concerns. His unusual, subtly hued use of light was highly praised. At the same time there were comments about the uneven quality of his work, his derivative style and the absence of any artistic credo. Berk describes the work as “fashionable, affected and sentimental.” Fortunately he adds, “What in Dutch eyes can seem dubious is often considered of real quality in Italy.”⁶ Mancini’s rather harsh treatment at the hands of the Dutch is perhaps due to the fact that many Dutch people are uncomfortable when confronted with the southern temperament. Nor would they find amusing Mancini’s behavior upon first meeting his Peruvian fellow artist, Baca-Flor. As the anecdote goes, Baca-Flor rapped on Mancini’s door twice, and each time Mancini cried out, “Mancini is not at home! ...Mancini isn’t here!” When Baca-Flor knocked a third time, Mancini suddenly appeared at the door totally naked and said, “Here is Mancini. This is his front side. And ...this is his backside!”⁷

Naples

Antonio Mancini was born on November 14th, 1852, to a family of tailors. His father, Paolo, perhaps for economic reasons, decided to leave Rome and establish himself in the Umbrian vil-



3. *Lo Scugnizzo su Fondo Rosso—Fremiti di Desiderio.*

lage of Narni. It was there, at the age of five, that Antonio is said to have produced his first painting, of a group of circus artists.⁸ In 1865 the family again decided to move. Rome was still in the throes of the Risorgimento, the Italian freedom struggle, so Naples was chosen as their new home. At the age of thirteen Antonio was enrolled in the local art academy, Istituto di Belle Arti, where for many years he was a student of Filippo Palizzi and Domenico Morelli. Among his fellow students were Gaetano Esposito, Francesco Michetti and Vincenzo Migliaro, all of whom were to emerge as important representatives of the Italian Ottocento. Sometimes Mancini posed as a model himself in order to make money and buy paint; he also earned a few *soldi* by sketching his comrades during class breaks.⁹

It was in these years that Antonio made friends with Vincenzo Gemito (1852-1929), who was studying to become a sculptor under Stanislao Lista. Lista took the young artists under his wing

and both of them, Vicienzo and Totonno, as they were referred to in the Neapolitan dialect, were soon ransacking the town for suitable models, especially *scugnizzi*, Neapolitan street urchins.¹⁰ Lista installed them in an attic room where they could work in peace and had his two sisters provide their meals. "More than once. . . they hauled up little street ragamuffins and had them pose naked," wrote Dario Cecchi. "They fraternally shared with the boys their own food by way of payment." When no model was available, they made copies of their teacher's statuary or posed nude for one another. The young Raffaele Ragione, famed for his good physique, modelled nude for them more than once. The two friends, however, often quarreled and even exchanged blows, over the artistic rendering of certain models, and Lista was obliged to separate them.¹¹

Mancini now set himself up in his own studio in the Vico Majorana, and there he painted all sorts of boys, even members of the Camorra,



4. *Autoritratto della Prima Giovinezza.*

paying them with bread or a little pocket money, or simply by satisfying the model's curiosity. His first important work dates from 1868, "Urchin Against a Red Backdrop – Shivers of Desire" (Fig. 3). It is often considered an imaginary self-portrait,¹² and indeed there is a definite physical resemblance to his "Juvenile Self-Portrait" (Fig. 4) of this same period.

Mancini met his first rich patron in 1870, Count Albert Cahen with whom he quickly became a close friend. With him he made, two years later, his first study trip to Venice;¹³ in 1873 he went on another, this time with Gemito to Milan, which turned out to be a fiasco. As for Mancini's moral behavior during this time and the preceding years, Michele Biancale's biography is full of information. Despite his modest style, about this behavior, this frank and sincere biographer seems completely stunned.

Economic circumstances compelled Mancini's parents to take a number of lodgers into their home, and so there were usually seven persons in the small house of Number 10 Vicolo San Gregorio Armeno: Antonio and his brothers Giovanni and the sickly Angelo (Angiolo), his parents and two boarders. That meant things were rather crowded. In a letter home in 1872 Antonio sent his best to a certain Parretti, a law student from the Piedmont, who later became a lawyer and who had lodged with the family since 1865. Mancini calls him, "the little gentleman I sleep with." Biancale concludes from this that Antonio and Parretti either slept in the same room or that Parretti had in the meantime taken over Antonio's bed, and he closes with the remark, "What a strange pension!"¹⁴

Perhaps Biancale didn't dare consider that Antonio and Parretti shared the same bed. Yet this would seem to be both likely, and practical. Even as late as 1976 in Italy such a sleeping arrangement was not unusual. In Rome, in 1892, pensions offered their guests a similar service: when the Dutch painter Jean Jacobson accompanied Mancini to his room, he found the innkeeper's child sleeping in Mancini's bed. Jacobson, rather surprised, added to his report, "That seemed to be customary."¹⁵ Mancini was then forty years old.



5. *Dopo il Duello*

Biancale provides further information, which adds to my supposition. At an early age Antonio acquired a venereal infection from his visits to brothels and intercourse with prostitutes which required medical treatment. Parretti appears to be the one who initiated the young Antonio in sexual matters, and he might even have exploited him. It was Parretti who incited Antonio "to frequent pretty theater actresses whose brothers practiced strange sexual aberrations." In the same period he came into contact with "painters who showed him obscene books," which upset him. Mancini later described this time, when all sorts of prostitutes also frequented his atelier, as "more sensual than being in a harem." He thought that the devil then had taken up residence inside him.¹⁶

The year 1872 was important for Mancini for

other reasons. As far as I have been able to determine, this is when his first portrait of little Luigi Gianchetti was painted, "After the Duel" (Fig. 5). Luigiello, with his black curly hair, figures regularly thereafter in Mancini's canvasses until about 1880 (Figs. 1, 6–11).¹⁷ Mancini became strongly attached to the fatherless boy from the Abruzzi who, with his mother, could hardly survive economically in Naples.¹⁸

In 1874 Mancini received a letter from Cahen in Paris enclosing 400 francs from the sale of one of his paintings. He gave artistic expression to his joy in a new portrait, "The Poor Schoolboy – Inspiration" (Fig. 6). Cahen's letter lies on the chair, beside Luigiello, who, with pen in hand, cheerfully looks up at a medallion with the bust of Dante Alighieri engraved on it. Upon Cahen's invitation, and urged on by his fellow



6. *Lo Studente Povero – Ispirazione*



7. *Luigiello con Pulcinella*.

artist Fortuny, Mancini himself departed for Paris the following year, but he stayed there less than six months because he found the separation from Luigiello too painful.¹⁹ In 1877 he made another attempt, and this time he lasted about a year and a half, living for a few months together with Vincenzo Gemito and Luigi Fabron who had also come to Paris in preparation for the World's Fair of 1878. In the meantime, Mancini had to replace *scugnizzo* with *gamin*, but, according to Biancale, the Parisian street boys were not very inspiring models; their personalities were not at all what he sought. He therefore decided to send for Luigiello. The boy made the journey alone. In a letter of April 12, 1877, Mancini's parents informed him, "Yesterday Luigiello departed." Being miserly they included in the letter the bill for the expenses of the trip they had contributed.²⁰

Mancini's joy at being reunited with Luigiello is celebrated in three canvasses inspired by a visit to the Circus Guillaume in Paris. The two ver-

sions of "The Little Acrobats Plucking Strings" (Fig. 10) are double portraits of Luigiello as musician/acrobat. "The Acrobat" (Fig. 11), completed in 1879, when Luigiello seems to have grown somewhat, shows a new high point in Mancini's works.²¹

Their Parisian idyll was interrupted in 1878 when Luigiello's mother summoned her son back to Naples giving as her reason her feeling that their bohemian life could not be good for a boy. Around May of the same year Mancini left Paris, leaving behind all his possessions "because a strange sickness was flowing through his veins."²² In Naples his condition visibly deteriorated; it manifested itself in outbursts of rage, fits of hysterical laughter, nervous fainting and, a conviction that he was being persecuted. Now, too, his mania for writing became more pronounced: there exist thousands of notes and letters written and preserved by him, sometimes in different versions, and never posted; scribbled-on bits of wallpaper and museum tickets; nearly illegible rough drafts; even a kind of coded, sealed diary. He was even using the walls and his own canvasses to write on, until his hands would no longer function. All kinds of diagnoses are to be found in literature, varying from neurasthenia and *lipemania ragionante* to syphilis, presumably picked up in Paris.²³ Michele Sciuti's psychiatric study, within which Mancini's self-portraits are closely analyzed, concludes that it was a curable variety of schizophrenia.²⁴ In any case, Mancini had to be committed in October, 1881, because he had become a danger to himself and others. Until his recovery in 1882 he remained under the care of Dr. Buonomo in the Casa di Salute Francesco de Sales.

Rome

Toward the end of 1882 Mancini moved to Rome. It is unclear just why. Perhaps he wanted to start a new life, as Pennock suggests. But there are indications that he had already played with this idea before he went into the sanatorium. No mention is made in the literature of a possible connection between his move to Rome and the fact that there are simply no new portraits after

1879/80 of Luigiello.²⁵ A marked end had come to the long and friendly relationship between artist and model.

In Rome he lodged in several pensions and painted the same kind of subjects as he had in Naples, such as "Masked Boy" (not illustrated), "The Adolescent," (Fig. 12), and "Street Urchin



8. *I Poveri si Dilettano con le Gioie dei Ricchi.*



9. *Lo Studentiello / Pauvre Ecolier*

Reading,” (Fig. 13); the model for the latter was also used in “The Little Antique Dealer,” (Fig. 2). Mancini found a new Maecenas in Marquis Giorgio Capranica del Grillo who for some years managed his rather shaky financial affairs. In the middle 1880’s he lived for a while with some family members, the Ruggeri. His nephews Alfredo and Telemaco now appear repeatedly in his paintings. Telemaco posed for among other canvasses “Telemaco with Flower Bouquet,” “Carnival,” and “The Birthday,” (Fig. 14).²⁶

Following a typhus attack in 1886, which even elicited rather premature obituary notices claiming that he had “pined away in a Roman garret,” Mancini again visited Venice. He made friends with the American painter Ralph Curtis to whom he later sold his painting “The Standard-Bearer of the Harvest Festival,” (Fig. 15). Curtis brought him into contact with his fellow artist John Singer Sargent, who found Mancini personally unsympathetic but whose art he

valued highly: “I have met in Italy the greatest living painter,” a quote which Cecchi triumphantly cites. This judgment takes on a new dimension in light of Cooper’s information that Sargent, too, was not insensitive to “the innocent attractions of the youth.”²⁷

Meanwhile Mancini was painting more and more female subjects: figures and portraits commissioned by the wealthy bourgeoisie among whom his reputation was rising. His general financial situation, however, was not any better. In 1894 he received a gold medal at the American World’s Fair in St. Louis, of which he was very proud but which in the end he was forced to sell.²⁸ Although the painter had been theoretically cured of the illness that had previously hospitalized him, there were numerous signs that this was not the case. Many people remarked on Mancini’s childish behavior and way of laughing. The Dutch artist Jean Jacobson, who knew him well during the years 1892/3, considered him a “madman, but a madman with genius, an unselfish madman, but there can be no doubt he is mad. Indeed, he himself is convinced of it and



10. *I Piccoli Saltimbanchi Suonatori*

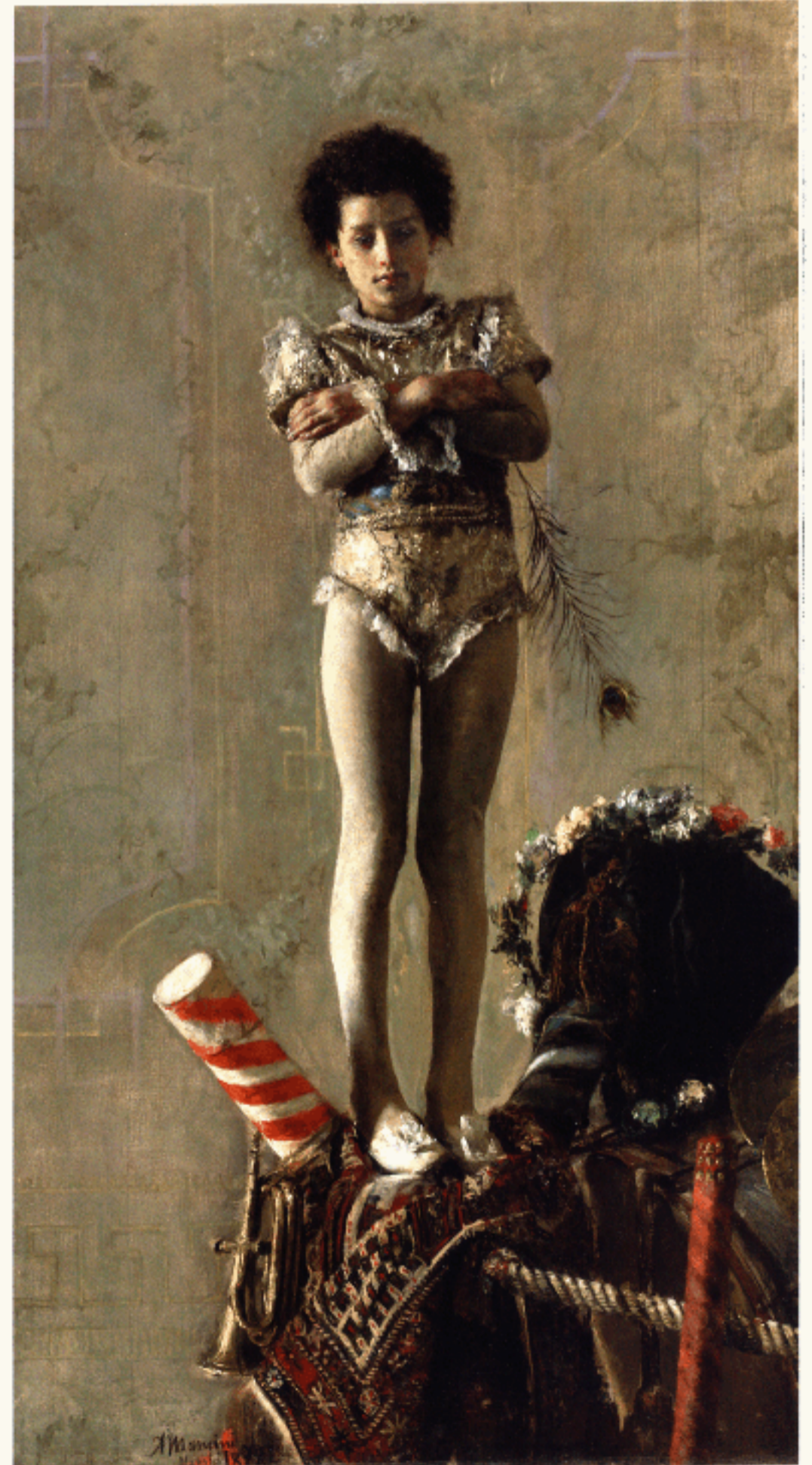
sometimes says so." Jacobson describes Mancini's poor lodgings, the deplorable condition of his clothes and outward appearance, and how he had to put the painter into a bath. He depicts Mancini at work: one moment soul-sick, then joyfully singing, then desperate and wild again, cursing loudly or moaning and groaning as if in the pains of child-birth, as he smeared paint on his canvas. He also speaks about Mancini's shyness and reclusiveness and absence of any sense of time. He notes Mancini's passion for reading and mania for writing. Mancini preferred the Bible, which he always kept with him, or the Confessions of St. Augustine, which he often read in a monotonous sing-song. He had many copies of the Bible, even a Dutch edition, from which he copied several passages, although he didn't understand the Dutch language.²⁹

Mancini had, nonetheless, not deserted his old theme. Around 1896 he painted his lovely "Poor Boy with a Statue" (Fig. 16). Pennock's study includes a photo from 1905 of Mancini and several friends from the Circolo Artistico Internazionale, (sometimes called Accademia del Nudo) where he came almost every evening to sketch nudes; in the midst of the artists stands the model, a small naked boy.³⁰

Upon Sargent's recommendation, Mancini spent several months of 1901/02 in London where he painted several portraits of socially important people and members of their families: among others, Harold Ponsonby, the young son of Claude Ponsonby, and Gérome Marchesi, son of the Italian baritone Salvatore Marchesi. On his trip home he stopped in The Netherlands. In 1907/08 he made another trip to England, this time visiting Dublin as well. About English children he had this to say: "By the way, the boys and girls are very beautiful here and more inclined to sell themselves than our Italian models."³¹

Back in Rome, Mancini found a new patron in the German collector and art philanthropist, Otto Messinger, who took pity upon the artist, provided him with a fine and well equipped atelier and went with him on an educational journey to Berlin, Munich, Cologne and Nuremberg. Like his successor, the French in-

dustrialist Fernand du Chêne de Vère, Messinger tried to influence Mancini to give up his contacts with "members of the lower classes" as much as possible so as to produce decorative and graceful canvasses which would find a good market. Du Chêne de Vère put at Mancini's disposal a villa in Frascati from 1912 to 1918 so he could work undisturbed. Referring to the Bible, Mancini called these his "seven fat years." Here he produced paintings of knights, musketeers, flute players, toreadors and pages, during the war years, using girl models dressed as boys.³² Most of these paintings are frivolous and superficial and can best be described as extravagances of



11. *Il Saltimbanco*.



12. *L'Adolescente.*

light and color.

At the age of 68 Mancini returned to his family. Thanks to the efforts of his nephew, Alfredo Mancini, who acted as impresario for his uncle, a whole room was devoted to an exhibit of his works at the Venice Biennale in 1920. Its success was overwhelming, and all of the paintings were sold. After that his artistic fame grew, although the first critics remarked on his declining color palette. In 1929 he was honored with membership in the Accademia d'Italia. With the financial success of the past years, he was now in a position to build a modest palazzo in the Aventine quarter, on Via Terme Deciani. Here he lived with his nephew, his nephew's wife and children, including the small Antonio. A floor of

***Deciane**

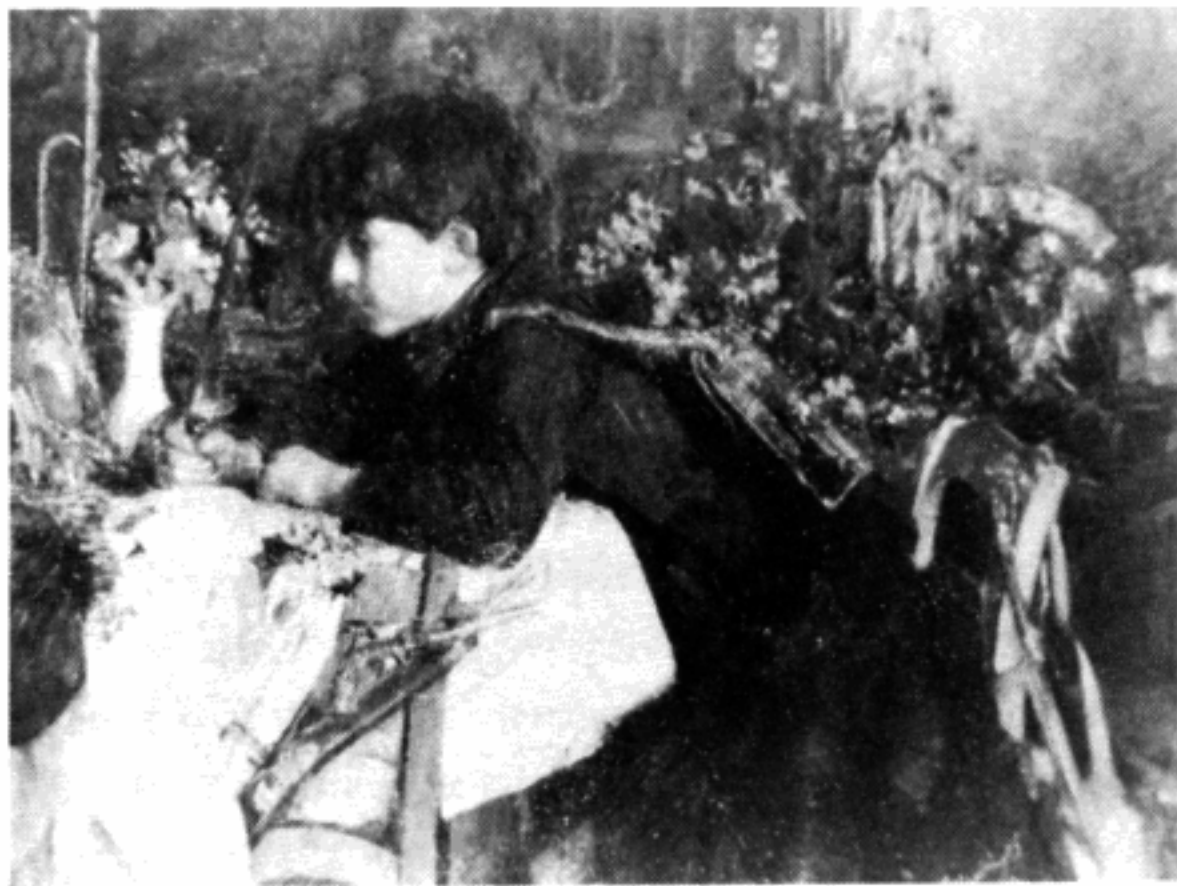
the villa was rented to two priests, one of whom, Giovanni Montini, later became Pope Paul VI. On December 28, 1930, Antonio Mancini died from pneumonia.³³

A Sentimental Escapist?

We have already seen that in many of his portraits of boys Mancini appears to have been commenting upon his own circumstances. His poverty, for example, seems to have influenced his choice of street urchins as models. Yet it soon becomes clear that these portraits are not simply diary illustrations: there are always some elements which raise them to a higher level. Often these are to be found in the paraphernalia, the still lifes which surround the boys and their backgrounds. Without some kind of inquiry into possible meanings which might enrich our understanding of the paintings, this article



13. *Scugnizzo che Legge.*



14. *Il Compleanno*

would be incomplete. I shall try to uncover some of them, realizing that in places I am treading on thin ice, for much of this involves guesswork and hypothesizing.

Mancini repeatedly indicated which artists he most admired: mentors such as Titian, Velázquez, Rembrandt and Frans Hals, all of whom he studied time after time as he traveled in Italy and abroad. He also liked the work of certain contemporaries, even plein air artists such as Sorolla y Bastida.³⁴ The themes to be found in his boy portraits remind us first of all of works by Murillo, although he is not mentioned as a source of inspiration.³⁵ The influence of the Neapolitan painter Caravaggio is, however, unmistakable, not just in the coincidence of subject matter but also in the chiaroscuro effects. The influence of Mancini's teacher, Domenico Morelli, might not be out of place in this context. Around 1905 Mancini even painted a pastiche of Caravaggio's "St. John the Baptist;" he used a somewhat younger model and transformed Caravaggio's ram (symbol of Christ) into a guinea pig, at that time a favorite pet of gypsy children (Figs. 17-18).³⁶

In his choice of subject matter, Mancini was not unique during those times. As already stated, Vincenzo Gemito had a similar preference, although the boys in his work tend to be sunnier and more ardent. It might be argued that the preference for boy models was not so strange as they were probably the cheapest models to hire.

However, the *scugnizzo* was also a favorite picture post-card theme around the turn of the century. Obviously Mancini was depicting certain generic Neapolitan folk themes, though it must be said, not the ordinary ones. His work is not dominated by fishermen's children, as was Gemito's, and certainly not by the shoe-shine boys, garlic peddlers and spaghetti eaters pictured on the cards.³⁷ Mancini represented his boys as seminarians (Fig. 19), choristers, painters' apprentices, musicians and acrobats. He painted schoolboys, flower sellers and boy



15. *Il Ciaociaretto Portastendardo*



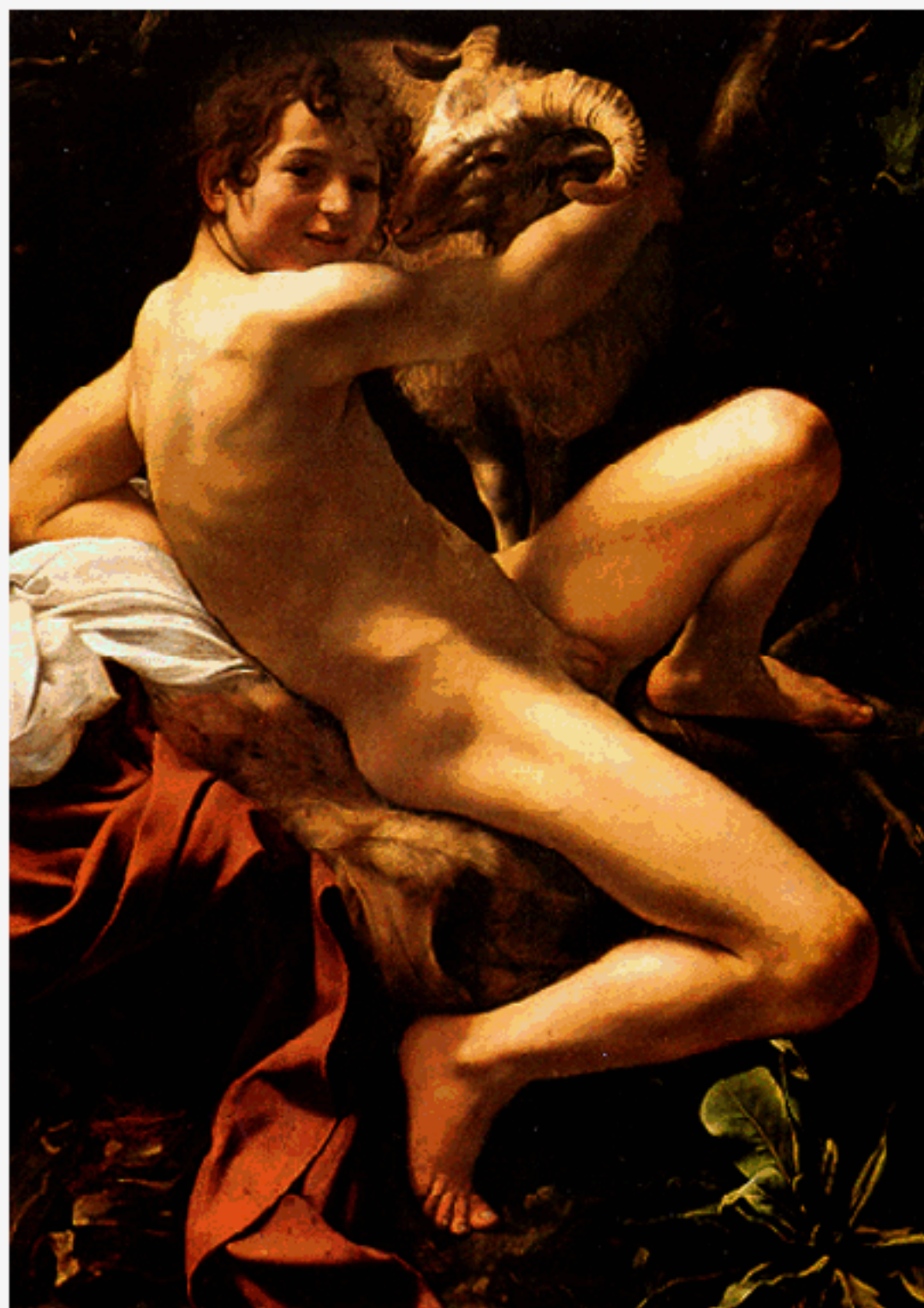
16. *Untitled ("Poor Boy with a Statue")*.

nudes. Very often they are posed with books or are seen reading with great concentration (Figs. 1, 6, 9, 13, 19, 20). He surrounded the models with sparkling objects and still lifes which his use of light and color emphasized: flowers, pearl necklaces, rosaries, bottles and beakers. Some of these were clearly meant as reminders of the world of childhood: pets, masks, dolls, satchels, lead soldiers and other toys. What is remarkable, given the prevalence and influence of plein air painting at that time, and Mancini's familiarity with it, is that Mancini placed almost all of his boys indoors. It suggests at least that he meant to enhance the chiaroscuro effect by indoor lighting. It is also characteristic of his work that the boys are almost never laughing. Augustine's words might be applied to these boy portraits:

In fact, is there anyone who, faced with the choice between death and a second childhood, would not shrink in dread from the latter prospect and elect to die? Infancy, indeed, starts this life not with smiles but with tears; and this is, in a

way, an unconscious prophecy of the troubles on which it is entering.³⁸

These portraits are not pathetic, tearful social protests. They show none of the bigoted missionary zeal which will later disfigure Morris West's documentary novel, "Children of the Sun," about these same street children.³⁹ Of course, most of Mancini's models were poor, destitute children whose misery was often strengthened by the oppressive hold over them of the Camorra. But Mancini painted them in an honest, hard, sincere manner. There is no facile exploitation of their role as victims, and, in this sense, these portraits are not intended as a social protest, as Bellonzi⁴⁰ correctly observes. Mancini tries to capture their mood and feelings as truthfully as possible (*verismo*). His boy portraits derive in part from an introverted contemplation of their subject, a very close observation expressed in melancholic paintings. But, there is also more.



17. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio. *S. Giovanni Battista*.

Several authors have pointed out that Mancini in his boy portraits might be re-experiencing his own youth.⁴¹ I will not contradict that opinion, especially in the light of Mancini's own later statement: "The *scugnizzo*, that was me!"⁴² The biographers have usually taken this quotation to mean Mancini's miserable youth when he was constantly suffering hardships and had to struggle for every inch of canvas and every small amount of paint. But the quotation bears a positive tenor too, as can be seen from Mancini's portraits.

Mancini never depicts apathetic, resigned boys. Quite the contrary, all of them radiate a lofty, resolute pride which seems to derive from an underlying conviction that status doesn't count; what matters is how you deal with your situation and wrestle with adversity no matter how distressing your circumstances might be. In "The Poor Amusing Themselves with the Riches of the Wealthy," (Fig. 8), one of the most intriguing portraits of Luigiello, Mancini sneers at the baubles and knickknacks of the bourgeoisie. The real riches of Italy are these children, Mancini seems to be saying. Thanks to them Italy has become a great nation. As if to emphasize this point he places them in the time of Roman antiquity or surrounds them with its remains,⁴³ as in "The Boy Bacchus,"⁴⁴ "The Adolescent," "The Little Antique Dealer," and "Poor Boy with a Statue" (Figs. 2, 12, 16); or he makes reference to the hard-working, timeless, peasants, as in "The Standard-Bearer of the Harvest Festival" (Fig. 15).

Often the *scugnizzi* are depicted as little scholars almost drowning in the enormous pile of books and manuscripts which surround them, as in "The Poor Schoolboy—Inspiration," (Fig. 6) and "Street Urchin Reading," from around 1883.⁴⁵ There is no question of escapism here: rather the conviction that man can develop himself through reading and studying. In every child a small Dante is hidden, would seem to be the message in "The Poor Schoolboy—Inspiration" (Fig. 6), and this germ can grow to fruition if one is prepared to work hard and make the most of each opportunity. Mancini is not just expressing a naive, didactic concept; he reaches with his



18. *Untitled* ("Little Boy with Guinea Pig").

own artistry toward the same lonely heights as did Dante. Where Dante used Beatrice as his source of inspiration, Mancini used Luigiello.⁴⁶

The same theme is further developed in the highly complex, collage painting, "The Truth" (Fig. 21). Once again Mancini's muse, depicted as a boy, appears in the form of a frontal nude, this time framed in a mirror. We know that the canvas originally consisted only of the boy's portrait. The toes of his right foot are still visible in the lower left corner of the canvas, where there is now a self-portrait of the artist. Mancini went back to work on the painting when the canvas appeared to be unsaleable. The later additions tell us a great deal. Mancini placed his small self-portrait, lower left corner, in the midst of his illustrious contemporaries: in the upper right-hand corner is a portrait of King Victor Emanuel II and his family; below we find to the left of the

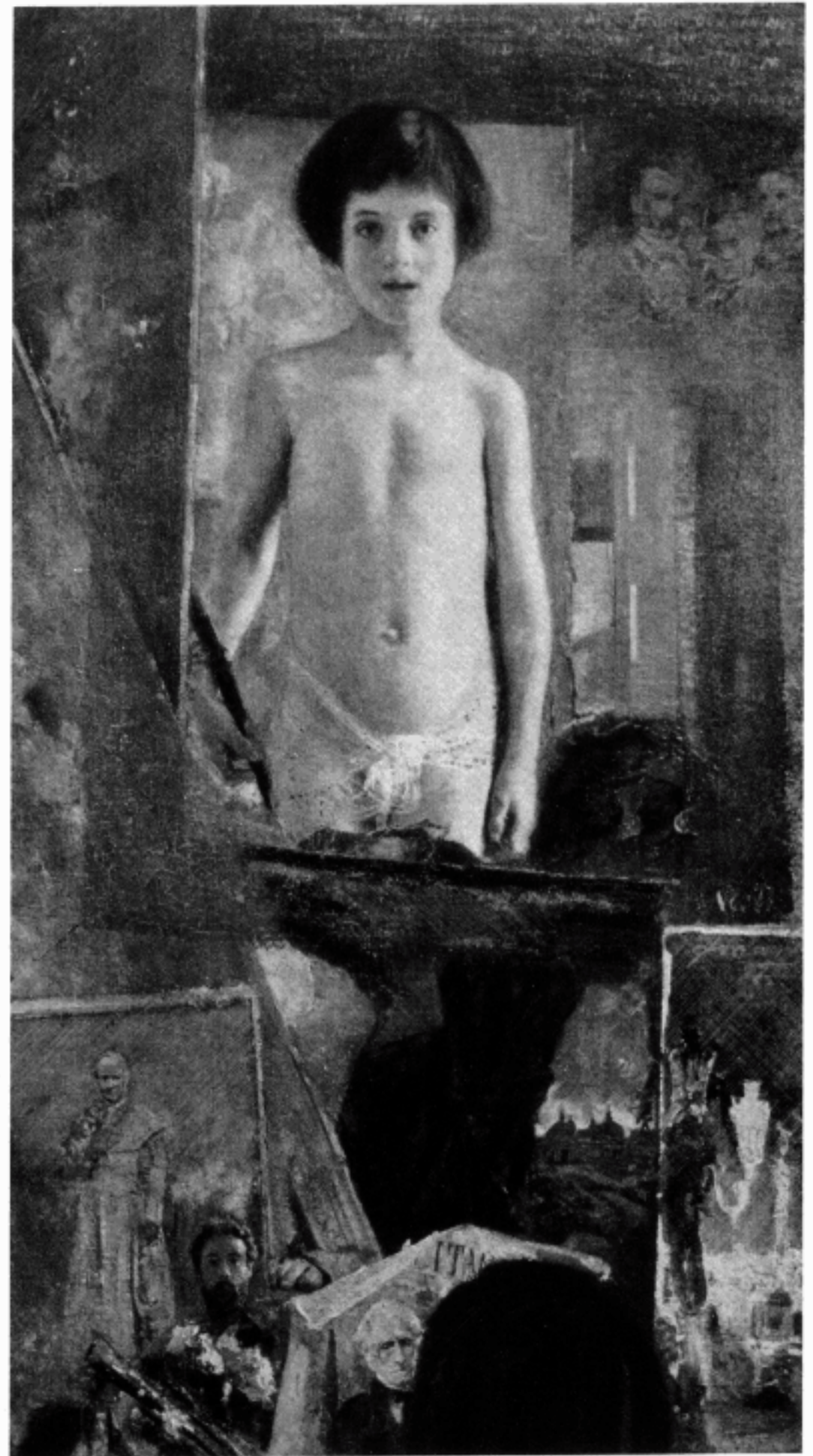


19. *Il prevettraniello.*

self-portrait a portrait of Pope Pius IX, and on the right side a scrap of newspaper with the portrait of the writer Alessandro Manzoni who had just died.⁴⁷ Nevertheless the boy dominates everyone. Mancini, it might be said, finds himself in select company, thanks to his own artistry but also to his inspiration, his muse, the *scugnizzo*.

I would like to end my investigation with a few remarks about Mancini's boy nudes. There is certainly a "feminine" aura to "The Little Antique Dealer" (Fig. 2). I know of no other boy nude which so approaches the sensuality of Goya's "Nude Maya" or Titian's "The Venus of Urbino," both of which it surely is meant to suggest.⁴⁸ Three elements especially contribute to the suggestion: the passive, waiting stance of the boy against the red background, his smoldering look combined with the refined manipulation of the rosary, and finally the chaste covering of his sex with his left thigh. In "The Truth" (Fig. 21) the boy's sex is also covered, this time by a nearly transparent loincloth. In "Little Boy with

Guinea Pig," (Fig. 18) Mancini has covered the sex organs by retouching them with a thick mass of paint, although they are clearly to be seen in Caravaggio's counterpart (compare Figs. 17 and 18). And in a fourth, important, boy nude, "Sweet Harmony," of 1900, there is not even a suggestion of genitals.⁴⁹ We see an elderly violin-player, in fact a portrait of Mancini's father Paolo, beside a reclining nude boy. The boy is posed frontally towards the observer and is bringing his folded hands in musical delight toward his breast; his eyes are closed and his mouth is half-opened. Stomach and hips are painted with unmistakably feminine curves; his



21. *La Verita.*

genitals have disappeared, pressed down between his thighs.

How are we to interpret this repeated hiding of the genitals of his models? Since it occurs in only four portraits over a period of more than thirty years, we cannot exclude the possibility that this is simply coincidental. On the other hand it might be argued that such a recurring image over so long a period of time might have some significance. Perhaps psychological factors are at work, but what they might be I would rather not speculate upon, especially since the portraits themselves give us no clues. In light of Mancini's life style, self censorship would seem to be out of the question, and there can be no suggestion that he was bowing to the tastes of his public. Mancini's attitude towards women in general is also not a good departure point; it can hardly be said that he viewed them with much affection.⁵⁰

Of course, one can also speculate on their symbolic significance, but once again I find myself confronted with a puzzle, for the message of the portraits is not the same. Even the same portrait often allows more than one interpretation, an ambiguity which echoes Mancini's schizophrenia. Are these boys personifications, allegories of chastity, innocence, the uncorrupted, or perhaps, as in "The Little Antique Dealer," and "Sweet Harmony," of lust? Is the boy in "Sweet Harmony," for example, a symbol of cerebral joy perhaps, of androgynous self-realization—in short, of art itself? Or are we seeking double meanings where none exist, and these portraits are just sublime products of Mancini's personal objectives to paint "veracity, beauty and kindness"?⁵¹ This riddle might never be solved.

Editor's Note:

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NOTES

1. W.H.L. Ogrinc, *Neither to Laugh nor to Cry: A Failure in the End: Charles Filiger (1863-1928) in Paidika* 1:4 (1988), p. 32.
2. G.L. Berk, *Mesdag als Maecenas in Spiegel Historiae* 8:1 (1973), p. 37; H. Pennock, *Antonio Mancini en Nederland* (Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1987), pp. 91-94. The most important statements in Italian secondary literature about Mancini are to be found in the appendix of: D. Cecchi, *Antonio Mancini* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1966), pp. 289-306. Fortunato Bellonzi was already being urged in 1962 to defend Mancini's work, in: C. Lorenzetti and F. Bellonzi, *Mostra delle Opere di Antonio Mancini, Ottobre-Novembre 1962*. (Milano: Villa Comunale di Milano, 1962), pp. 22-26.
3. See: D. Cecchi, *Scritti inediti di Antonio Mancini in Il Giornale d'Italia* 28/29-1-1969; C. Lorenzetti, *Lettere inedite di Antonio Mancini in L'Arte* 42 (1939), pp. 94-107; E. Santoro, *La Poetica di Antonio Mancini attraverso gli Appunti e le Lettere* (Bologna: Istituto DAMS [Tesi di Laurea], 1977).
4. Pennock, op. cit., is for the most part based upon her unpublished study, *Antonio Mancini en zijn Relatie met Nederland. Doctoraalscriptie Kunstgeschiedenis* (Utrecht: [Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht], 1985).
5. See especially the cited works of Pennock, and F. Leeman and H. Pennock (eds.), *Ottocento/Novocento. Italiaanse Kunst 1870-1910* (Zwolle: Waanders, [1988]). Mancini had close ties with The Netherlands, especially through patronage and purchases by the Dutch painter and collector Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831-1915), who was a student of his cousin Alma Tadema. The Dutch painters Jean Jonas Jacobson (1867-?) and Cornelis Johannes Maks (1876-1967) knew Mancini personally. Mancini's work was repeatedly exhibited in The Netherlands. A number of his works are in Dutch collections, among others in the Rijksmuseum H. W. Mesdag in The Hague.
6. Berk, op. cit., pp. 38-44; R. de Leeuw, et al., *De Haagse School. Hollandse Meesters van de 19de Eeuw* (Den Haag: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1983), p. 96.
7. Cecchi, *Antonio Mancini*, p. 144. This took place around 1892 in Rome. Mancini and Carlos Baca-Flor (1869-1941) became good friends!
8. Pennock, *Antonio Mancini en Nederland*, p. 13.
9. For details see: F. d. E., *La Giovinezza di Antonio Mancini a Napoli: i Primi Passi in Arte di un Neo-Accademico?* in *Il Giornale d'Italia* 29-3-1929; C. Lorenzetti, *La Giovinezza di Antonio Mancini e il Reale Istituto di Belle Arti di Napoli I-II*, in *Rassegna dell'Istruzione Artistica* 1:7 (1930), pp. 397-406/ 2:3 (1931), pp. 143-158;

P. Scarpa, *Le Opere Giovanili di Antonio Mancini* in *Il Meridiano* 26-3-1923; C. Siviero, *Il Naturalismo Napoletano: Palizzi, Morelli, Gemito, Mancini* in *Il Mattino Illustrato* 28-12-1936. Filippo Palizzi (1818-1899) is best known for his naturalistic depictions of animals and landscapes. Domenico Morelli (1823-1901) preferred historical and biblical subjects with imaginary settings but in a naturalistic (*verismo*) style. His coloring and chiaroscuro contrasts, derived in great part from baroque painters such as Michelangelo da Caravaggio, had a great influence upon Mancini. *Ottocento* is synonymous with 19th century naturalism.

10. M. Biancale, *Antonio Mancini: La Vita: Roma 1852-1930* (Roma: Fratelli Palombi, [1952]), pp. 15-19; A.M. Brizio, *Ottocento-Novecento I* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1962), p. 272; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 13-22. Stanislao Lista (1824-1908), sculptor from Salerno.

11. Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 15, 21-22; Biancale, op. cit., pp. 15, 19, 25; C. Refice, *In Margine alla Mostra del Mezzogiorno: Antonio Mancini* in *Bollettino d'Arte* 4:38 (1953), p. 151. Rafaele Ragione (1851-1925), Neapolitan painter.

12. Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 23-32; G. Gentile, *Scugnizzi e Principi nella Pittura di Antonio Mancini I*, in *Annali. Rivista Pubblicata Bimestralmente per Servire agli Studi di Arte, Storia ed all'Alta Cultura* 4 (1955), pp. 50-51. In France the painting is titled *Le Lendemain de la Fête* ("The Day After the Feast"). This painting came back into Mancini's possession in 1921, and thereafter it was one of his favorite possessions. Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 29, 265, 284 said that in the memory of the then 68 year old artist, the lovely companion of the young *camorrista* always moved him as he worked, with stories about her sad circumstances, her eyes filled with tears: "I listened, painted and wept, and the *scugnizzo* wept too!"

13. The Belgian composer, Albert Cahen, from Antwerp (1846-1903), lived in Paris and was a student of César Franck. During this trip, Mancini painted for Cahen a nude of the boy Toso, son of a gondolier. See Cecchi, op. cit., p. 56; Biancale, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

14. Biancale, *ibid*, pp. 45-46; Cecchi, *ibid*, pp. 46, 55. That Mancini was on very intimate terms with the boarders can be seen, too, in a passage in the same letter to the second resident of the pension, Don Rafaele Mauro, who was perhaps a teaching priest: "I embrace you and I think you're very sweet." A letter from Venice of May 5, 1872, to his parents closes with the following postscript to Parretti: "Love me as I love you, and may all your wishes be richly fulfilled. Your affectionate friend, Mancini."

15. Pennock, op. cit., p. 68. See also Note 5. "1976" is

based on my own experiences in Rome.

16. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 46-47. Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 46-47 gives an inventory of a contemporary Neapolitan bordello. Available were, among others, "A woman whose husband lives in America and a former lady's maid from Caserta [i.e. the royal palace]," but also "five boys available to foreign gentlemen, especially the English."

17. As well as the paintings illustrated in this article, I have been able to identify the following portraits of Luigi: *Il Piccolo Savoiaro* (c. 1875); *Scugnizzo con Cesta Appesa a una Corda* (1877); *La Bolla di Sapone* (1877); *La Lettura* (c. 1877); *Piccoli Saltimbanchi Suonatori* (1877-78); *Bacco Fanciullo* (1878).

18. Biancale, op. cit., p. 55.

19. Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 73-75, 78. Mariano Fortuny y Carbo (1838-1874), Spanish painter.

20. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 62-63; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 78, 94. Cecchi provides a list of the items to which the charges applied: "a basket with stockings, clothing, 4 pillow-cases, 2 *tappeti* (blankets, perhaps), 2 sheets" etc. Lecman and Pennock, op. cit., p. 45 wrongly state that Luigiello followed Mancini to Paris during his first visit. Luigi Fabron (1855-1907) painter from Turin.

21. The second version of *I Piccoli Saltimbanchi Suonatori* is reproduced in F. Bellonzi, *Antonio Mancini* (Milano: Aldo Martello, 1962), Figure xvii. Regarding *Il Saltimbanco* see especially E. Cecchi, *Il Saltimbanco di Antonio Mancini* in *Vita Artistica* 2:5 (1927), pp. 96-98, and also, D. Cecchi, *Antonio Mancini*, pp. 86-90.

22. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 65-69; Cecchi, op. cit., p. 97.

23. Bellonzi, op. cit., p. 34; Biancale, op. cit., pp. 65-72; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 100-101. The medical case history report (October 30, 1881) states, among other things, that the patient had already suffered for three years from the complaints and gave as a cause Mancini's moral life-style. *Lipemania* is an old-fashioned medical term for "a pathological mental condition dominated by anxiety, depression or excitement; melancholia," according to S. Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana IX* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1975), p. 121.

24. M. Sciuti, *La Malattia Mentale di Antonio Mancini* in *L'Ospedale Psichiatrico. Rivista di Psichiatria, Neurologia e Scienze Affini* 15:3 (1947), pp. 191-282.

25. Pennock, op. cit., p. 15; Biancale, op. cit., p. 75. Pennock incorrectly dates the move as 1883.

26. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 74, 83, 85-86; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 114, 125.

27. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 83-84; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 129, 155; E. Cooper, *The Sexual Perspective: Homosexuality and Art in the Last 100 Years in the West* (London:

Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), p. 31. Ralph Curtis (1854-1922), son of the wealthy American, Daniel Curtis, was a friend of the American painter John Singer Sargent (1856-1925).

28. Bellonzi, op. cit., p. 35.

29. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 86, 88-89; Cecchi, op. cit., p. 284; Pennock, op. cit., pp. 45, 68-71. See also Note 5.

30. Pennock, op. cit., p. 48.

31. Biancale, op. cit., p. 125; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 170, 174, 183.

32. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 129-137; Cecchi, op. cit., p. 253.

33. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 140-147; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 265, 283; N. Greitmann, *Op Zoek naar de Tweede Onschuld* (Baarn: Ambo, 1981), p. 175. Alfredo Mancini (1893-1978): Mancini's literary estate still remains with his heirs in Venice. Giovanni Battista Montini (Pope Paul VI 1963-1978) was then undersecretary to Cardinal E. Pacelli, the future Pope Pius XII (Pope 1939-1958). The Accademia d'Italia was intended by Mussolini to be the Italian counterpart of the Académie Française.

34. The following discusses Mancini's sources of inspiration: Bellonzi, op. cit., pp. 15-21. On his opinion of the Spanish painter Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida (1863-1923), see Biancale, op. cit., p. 129, and Cecchi, op. cit., p. 268. This Spanish artist painted many naked bathing boys: see, E. Peel, *Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida* (Valencia: IVAM Centre Julio González, 1989).

35. See, E. Young, *Die grossen Meister der Malerei. Bartolomé Murillo* (Frankfurt/Main: Ullstein, 1980). Bartolomé Estéban Murillo, Spanish painter from Seville (1617-1682).

36. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1574-1610). On the influence of Morelli, see Biancale, op. cit., pp. 20-22. See also Note 9. The rectangular traces evident in this painting derive from the "grid technique" which Mancini used after 1882 in order to be able to work more accurately.

37. Bellonzi, op. cit., pp. 12-13, 28; Brizio, op. cit., p. 272; Refice, op. cit., pp. 150-151; B. Mantura (ed.), *Temi di Vincenzo Gemito. Spoleto Palazzo Racani Artoni, 2 luglio-3 settembre 1989* (Roma: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 1989), pp. 13, 17; G. Colonnese (ed.), *Napoli in Cartolina. Con uno Scritto di Renato de Falco* (Napoli: Colonnese Editore, 1984).

38. Augustine, Book XXI, ch. 14, in D. Knowles (ed.), *Augustine. Concerning the City of God against the Pagans* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 991.

39. M. West, *Children of the Sun* (London: William Heinemann, 1957).

40. Bellonzi, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

41. Ibid, p. 11; Refice, op. cit., p. 151.

42. Cecchi, op. cit., p. 26; Gentile, op. cit., p. 50.

43. Jean Jacobson describes how Mancini fabricated Roman antiques from gypsum angels with simple materials (gilt, blotting-paper and silver paper) which Jacobson (wrongly, in my opinion) interprets as "statues of saints." See, Pennock, op. cit., p. 69.

44. Illustrated in Lorenzetti and Bellonzi, op. cit., Figure 22.

45. Ibid, Figure 39.

46. Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), most important Italian poet of the Middle Ages, wrote among others, *La Vita Nuova*, inspired by his love for Beatrice, and *La Divina Commedia*. The painting was wrongly dated by Bellonzi, op. cit., Figure XXVI. See also, Pennock, op. cit., p. 29; Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 73-75.

47. Bellonzi, op. cit., p. 29; Cecchi, op. cit., p. 85; Vittorio Emanuele II of Savoy (King 1861-1878); Pius IX (Pope 1846-1878); Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873), Italian poet and novelist, best known for his *I Promessi Sposi*.

48. Cecchi, op. cit., pp. 133, 158. Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes's (1746-1828) *La Maya Nuda* (1800/03) is in the Prado in Madrid; Titian's (c. 1490-1576) *La Venere d'Urbino* (1538) is in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. The pose of the boy seems to me to have been directly inspired by the statue *Paolina Borghese Bonaparte come Venere Vincitrice* (1805/08) by Antonio Canova (1757-1822) in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. If I am right then the painting is a representation of *Amor Invictus*.

49. This painting, 51 X 200 cm., also called *Dolce Melodia*, is in the Pospisil Collection in Venice. Illustrations in, Cecchi, op. cit., Figure 21; Lorenzetti and Bellonzi, op. cit., Figure 47.

50. Biancale, op. cit., pp. 47, 65 together with the love for his mother, cites one exception: an affair with a dressmaker when he was young. Otherwise his relations with women were totally businesslike, either as models or as prostitutes with whom he sought quick sexual satisfaction. He repeatedly indicated that he "had no time for women."

51. Pennock, op. cit., p. 41. Mancini may have decided to paint these boys without genitalia for aesthetic reasons. There is no written evidence, however, to suggest that Mancini was familiar with the views of Rémy de Gourmont, who, in 1903, considers "the penis a luxury and a danger" and states that "the invisibility of her sexual organs" is the decisive fact "in rendering women more beautiful" than man. "In the human male, and precisely because of his upright carriage, his sex is preeminently the sensitive and visible spot, a point of

attack in single combats, ...an obstacle for the eye, whether as a ruggedness on a surface or as a breaking in the middle of a line... when we consider the male and the female at the moment of desire when they present the most intense and natural expression of life. . . the male apparently all at once receding toward the primitive state of animality, seems to throw off all beauty and become reduced to the simple and naked condition of a genital organism." See, R. de Gourmont, *Physique de l'Amour: Essai sur l'Instinct Sexuel* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1929), pp. 34, 69-70.

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A Farewell: A Late Letter

John Henry Mackay

She had slept for thirteen hours in a death-like exhaustion, without dreaming, without consciousness. It was her first peaceful night in many weeks. First there was that terrible, lingering illness, then his slow, painful death, and finally those three days of outer and inner excitement that followed her into her dreams and disturbed her sleep, just as his groans had earlier done.

Only when the grave had been closed, the mourners had dispersed, and she was alone with her likewise exhausted servants in the large, still house, did she feel how needful rest was for her, and she lay down to sleep for thirteen hours.

When she awoke, she felt again for the first time in a long while the feeling of strength and will-power that appeared intimately joined with her nature. She was ashamed of this feeling. In that moment when, as she believed, she should still be completely overcome and entirely given to grief, it was almost an intrusion. But the feeling did not let itself be banished, and so she set about taking up the reins of her life in hand again and practicing the new role that she had to play from now on: the widow of a great man. It could not be more difficult than the role of wife, which she had previously played.

After she had breakfasted and discussed with the old servant of her house the first efforts to put back onto its tracks again the disturbed course of her exemplarily conducted household, she entered for the first time the dead man's study. The windows had been opened and the pure light of a quiet fall morning streamed in. Everything was just as it had been the last time he had been brought here, the last time before he lay down never to rise again, three days before his death. On that afternoon he had still opened the letters of the last weeks himself, and the sheets lay on the desk just the way his tired hand had

laid them. What had arrived since then, up to the evening when everything was over, the servant had stacked on the other corner, and there they lay, unopened, in the order in which they had arrived, a large pile of letters and newspapers of all kinds.

Calmly she set about opening them, one after the other, and laying them aside, the personal letters by themselves, then the newspapers, and finally the business mail of all kinds, those indifferent things that accompany our lives, which would continue to flow in for a while yet and finally slowly ebb with the memory of the dead man, or even somewhat earlier.

As she read the personal letters—one, two, or three from his closer friends, who inquired about the state of his illness and who all expressed their hope for a quick recovery, and one from an ardent admirer of the great artist, deeply disturbed by the newspaper report—it occurred to her how little she had really shared with her husband—not a single one of his friendships—and how little of his life on the outside. She knew none of these friends' names and it would never have occurred to him to show her one of these letters of his admirers, of which he must have received many. Only these last drops from the fullness of a once overflowing cup of fame, now in ruins, ran into her hands, by chance into hers.

With these thoughts she had mechanically opened the next letter. She read, did not understand at first, then read again and comprehended:

"I read in the newspapers that you are sick and after thirty-five years I'm breaking a promise I made myself. For I'm writing to you once again after such a long while and for the last time.

"Who am I? Remember whom you loved thirty-five years ago and you will know.

"And why am I writing to you? Rest easy; it's just to call a smile to your lips once again, the smile of remembering a happiness that you have as little forgotten as I—perhaps your last smile! Only for that reason am I writing you.

"For how great and rich you have become, how distant in this hour perhaps lies for you already what we call sorrow and joy. But your room cannot be so full of sunshine that one more ray is not allowed to slip in and lie caressing your forehead for one last moment.

"But perhaps you are lonesome and alone, although surrounded by people, because you are great and rich. Then is this one ray to fill your whole room once more with the light and warmth of the memory of your first love, which was perhaps not your deepest, but surely your happiest and most carefree, and about which no one has ever known but you and I.

"I thank you, my friend, for the happiness you gave me, and I think of this happiness as one should remember it—as the most precious rarity of this life—with reverence. What it unavoidably entailed in pain and sorrow, I have forgotten, and tranquil today I can say to you: I thank you!

"Farewell, my friend! Do you not see us again as we were then? The white house and the rose garden, the sandy path by the pond that we so often walked? Do you not remember once more our first kisses, and do the words we whispered not come alive again for you?

"Surely! Just as I have forgotten again for an hour that I have grown old, so should you, and while your hand crumples this sheet and burns it to ashes over the candle, you will smile, as I wanted!

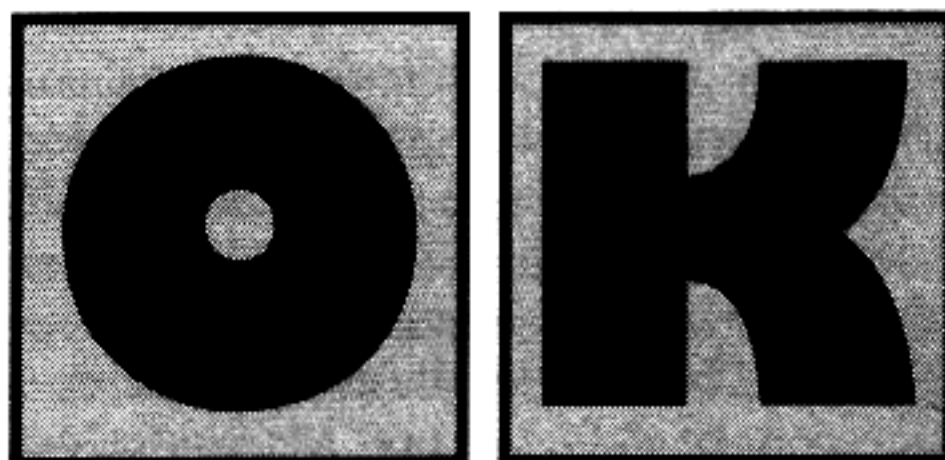
"Farewell, my friend! Farewell, you lover of my youth!"

When she had finished reading, she continued to look for a long time at the lines, which an old, already shaking hand and still youthful heart had written. Yet nothing made itself felt in her but a boundless bitterness and a kind of hatred of this old, romantic person. But when she then stood and walked up and down, tearing the letter into

small pieces, on her cold and empty face the expression of hate gave way to one of joy, the mean and small joy over the fact that he had at least no longer enjoyed this last happiness of memory.

Written in Sorrento, 1898.

Translated from the German by Hubert Kennedy.



TIJDSCHRIFT
V O O R
O U D E R E N
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R E L A T I E S

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*which (!)

HIDING IN THE OPEN: JOHN HENRY MACKAY'S "A FAREWELL"

Hubert Kennedy

In order to gain a publisher—and readers—it has been necessary in the past for homosexual writers to heterosexualize their stories, to change the sex of one of the partners in the relationship that the author really wishes to write about. Modern critics take this situation into account in ways that earlier critics, bound by that same tradition, could not, but the results may vary: "It must be granted that this critical procedure can be reductive if it simply seeks to 'restore the true sex' to a character that is a composite product of the literary imagination."¹ But sometimes the new insight yields a greater appreciation of the writer's intention and results in an entirely different interpretation. This will be illustrated here by a consideration of John Henry Mackay's love poem "Helene" and especially his short story "Ein Abschied: Ein später Brief" [A Farewell: A Late Letter].

That Marcel Proust used elements of his beloved Albert Agostinelli in his creation of the female character Albertine in *Remembrance of Things Past* was conclusively demonstrated in 1949 by Justin O'Brien, who called the strategy "transposition of sexes" or "substitution of sexes."² Since then the term "Albertine complex" has been suggested, and this has become so common that in 1977 critic Roger Austen could refer to "Albertine" novels with no further explanation. (Austen cited as an example Tennessee Williams' *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone*.)³

Mackay used this strategy in 1888 in his long love poem "Helene."⁴ There the title character is modeled after the boy described in Chapter 6 of his autobiographical novel *Fenny Skaller*⁵—

who also appears to be the subject of "Der Fluch" [The Curse] in his collection of "poems of the nameless love."⁶ "Helene" was hardly noticed by the critics, but was appreciated by a few, including Mackay's friend Gabriele Reuter, who found it "overpowering by its glowing passion":

Love, love, nothing but love! The exultation of young joy, sighs of languishing desire, wrestling with despair and newly-awakening pain of hope to the rage of the wildest passion! And then separation and her downfall—worse than death—and a curse shrieked into the air by the man who sees her drifting down the dark stream—ever farther and farther—and who stands on the shore and cannot help her.⁷

Two years after "Helene," Mackay published his third volume of lyric poems, *Das starke Jahr* [The Strong Year]. Reuter saw in it the fruits of Max Stirner's teachings on the "right of the individual," but did not note that one of its poems directly referred, without naming it, to "Helene." Mackay made the connection unmistakable, however, in 1911 when, in the eight-volume edition of his *Gesammelte Werke* [Collected Works], he prefaced "Helene" with this poem, which unlocks some of the mysteries in "Helene."⁸

In "Helene" the narrator tells of first meeting Helene in early spring when he saves her from a suicide attempt. He immediately falls in love and makes an appointment for the next day; but she does not appear and he does not see her again until the following winter, when he discovers her by chance in a lower-class tavern where she sings. Disgusted by the situation he leaves; but

he soon returns because he *does* love her and *will* take her away from her sordid occupation. (Clearly she entertains the customers with more than her singing.) To his astonishment she rejects his proposal, and although he then tries to deaden his love, it rages all the more. After he has finally accepted his fate, they have a last meeting in the street. This time she takes him home and tells him that the very day he saved her life she was forced to become a prostitute, and that when she saw him again she decided to revenge herself on him. Now that she has done it, she tells him that he was the only man she ever really loved. This final revelation finishes him off. He writes the poem, sends the manuscript to a friend, and leaves to begin a new life.

I have given the plot of "Helene" at some length since both of Mackay's biographers have stated it inexactly and perhaps therefore have overlooked the importance of the opening episode, the interrupted suicide attempt. Thomas A. Riley wrote of the poem's narrator:

He condescends to love her, in spite of the shock he feels on discovering her low position in his moral world. To his surprise and despair she remains cold to him, a mystery that takes much time and suffering to dissolve. He finally learns that in pain at his condescending attitude, she has actually become a prostitute.⁹

This sequence of events is rather surprisingly repeated by Mackay's German biographer, Kurt Zube, although Zube is otherwise at great pains to correct Riley's mistakes.¹⁰ The actual sequence of events makes it clear that it is the 'good' act of interfering in Helene's suicide attempt that is to be avenged. This idea has often been used for comic effect: a bandit in John Sturges's 1960 film *The Magnificent Seven* says, "Sooner or later you must answer for every good deed." But Mackay was serious, writing in his memoirs near the end of his life: "I do not know why the word 'goodness' has such a disagreeable aftertaste for me. There is something in it of condescension, arrogance, of Pharisaism."¹¹

This view also agrees with Mackay's description of "Helene" in the preface to his *Gesammelte Werke*, where he states the contents of vol. 3:

The third volume presents first the early poem "Kinder des Hochlands" [Children of the Highlands]. As trustworthy voices have assured me, it is the only one of my books that "can be put without hesitation into the hands of young girls." Although that gives pause for thought, I still could not decide to leave it out entirely. One does want to have written a good book once, even if it was a long time ago. "Helene," the love poem, is certainly not a good book. It is instead, perhaps, an all the more remarkable setting down of curiously passionate feeling and experience. A quite evil book, of course, is the infamous *Sturm* [Storm].¹²

The irony of "good book" is clear, but it should also be pointed out that when Mackay wrote "Helene," his anarchist and individualist views were already well developed, and that a right to one's own body and life is basic. As the protagonist in Stefan Zweig's *Amok* bluntly put it: "Please don't bother yourself... The only human right left to one is this, to croak when he wants to... and in doing it be unmolested by outside help."¹³ The egoist philosopher Max Stirner, whose biographer Mackay was, had already stated this as a result of becoming "one's own": "Only when I am under obligation to no being is the maintaining of life—my affair."¹⁴ And Mackay mentioned suicide in a list of crimes committed by the State in his book *The Freedom-seeker*: "Even suicides were punished, should they be so unfortunate as to survive."¹⁵

In discussing Mackay's largely autobiographical novel *Fenny Skaller*, Kurt Zube particularly mentions Chapter 6, "in which Mackay long and devotedly interested himself on behalf of a sick person."¹⁶ There the boy, who remains unnamed, is taken off the streets of Berlin by Skaller.

He scarcely knew any more where and when he had found him. He only still knew, knew today, that he had clung to him, to him who was already sinking in the mire of life, like a drowning man—and

that he had been foolish enough to believe that in that way he could rescue them both.¹⁷

I believe that the event that resulted in Mackay's "remarkable setting down of curiously passionate feeling and experience" in "Helene" was precisely that described in Chapter 6 of *Fenny Skaller*, in which Skaller, a boy-lover who has just realized his sexual orientation and is desperate for someone to love, takes a sick street boy into his home and nurses him back to health. He even prevents his suicide: "He tore from him the weapon with which in desperation he wanted to put an end to it, as if this life were his for which he fought. He helped and helped, and he never tired of helping."¹⁸ Despite all his love and efforts to help, however, Skaller has no effect on the character of the boy, who continues to sponge off him and even threatens blackmail.

Mackay tells us in *Fenny Skaller* how much his efforts to help the boy cost him: "He had wanted to rescue a soul. Only there was no soul there. If that was a fault, well—he had done severe penance for his sin."¹⁹ Thus, too, was the narrator in "Helene" punished for his good deed of preventing suicide—symbolic of the desire to help those who will not help themselves.

That Mackay would use the Albertine complex here is to be expected, but it is interesting to note that something of the original boy remains in Helene's "sweet little child's face":

And I was firmly drawn to her beauty,
To her young, untouched beauty,
To her slender, charming face,
...

There was still a breath of youth about her.²⁰

We may note, too, that in describing his love for Helene the narrator says:

And my love has remained nameless!
Not once can I cling to a word.²¹

Some years later Mackay would write in defense of man/boy love:

But how shall I name you, my life's love?!

Each name that has named you until now has become a term of abuse in the dirty mouth of the vulgar, a misunderstanding in dull minds, which is worse than all insults; and none names you correctly.

You still have no name.

So let me call you—*nameless!*²²

Another common disguise of the true sex of the author's model takes advantage of the very situation that forces the disguise. This strategy, which may be called "hiding in the open," is just not to reveal the sex of the character concerned. It trusts that the reader will simply assume the sex that is required to make the story heterosexual. As Robert K. Martin wrote in *The Homosexual Tradition in American Poetry*: "Most writing has traditionally been heterosexual, not by declaration but by implication. Men and women are assumed to be heterosexual until proved otherwise."²³ This type of disguise is difficult to accomplish even in the shortest of stories (more difficult in German than in English!) and would seem to be impossible in a novel, but is relatively easy in poetry, as Martin illustrated in his book. And in linking the American poets Hart Crane and Walt Whitman, Thomas A. Yingling wrote of Crane:

Even the inspiring presence of Whitman was not proof against the need to obscure reference to homosexuality in his work, for if Robert Martin is correct in suggesting that Crane learned from Whitman to trust his homosexuality and to inscribe it in verse, he also surely learned from Whitman to encode it so that it might be read in something other than a homosexual way.²⁴

It is possible that Mackay, too, learned this encoding from Whitman (if, indeed, it needs to be "learned" at all). Although there is no direct evidence that Mackay read Whitman's poetry, it is almost certain that he did. Whitman's cry in *Leaves of Grass*—"Neither a servant nor master I!"—would have appealed to Mackay as it did to his American friend, the anarchist Benjamin R. Tucker; and Whitman "had some vogue in Ger-

many mainly owing to his naturalism."²⁵ Thus Whitman would have been a topic of discussion among the exponents of naturalism with whom Mackay associated in Berlin in the 1880s. (Mackay later claimed that two of his novellas were "demonstrably the first of that aspiring direction of that time, which under the name naturalism stirred up so much dust in dried out brains.")²⁶

With his command of English, Mackay easily read Whitman in the original. In fact, Mackay published in 1889 a volume of translations of ten English and American poets, including Joaquin Miller, who was often associated with Whitman as expressing American democracy.

Mackay widely used the strategy of "hiding in the open" in his love poetry. Riley first pointed this out in his discussion of *Dichtungen*, Mackay's first volume of lyric poems, where he wrote of the section of love poems:

Especially striking is the fact that most of his love poems could apply to homosexual as well as heterosexual love. Twenty-one of these twenty-five are written in direct address to the loved one, thus disguising the sex of the person to whom they are addressed. The only personal pronouns used are those of the first and second persons. From now on this peculiarity became almost constant in Mackay's poetry. Rare indeed is the poem in which the feminine pronoun is used, and never a girl's name.²⁷

This "peculiarity" has also been noted by the Germanist scholar Edward Mornin in his extended study of the writings of Mackay. But whereas Riley saw it as "the trick he used to circumvent his infirmity,"²⁸ Mornin wrote:

The secrecy and discretion, however, have not reduced the strength of expression in Mackay's writings, but on the contrary have lent them an intensity of feeling that has an even stronger effect. Their emotion is not directly expressed. This is true for *Am Rande des Lebens* (his only ex-

pressly homosexual collection), and for all his apparently heterosexual love poetry.²⁹

A successful example of Mackay's use of "hiding in the open" is the brief poem "Morgen" [Tomorrow], which was set to music by Richard Strauss and is one of his best loved songs:

*Und morgen wird die Sonne wieder scheinen,
und auf dem Wege, den ich gehen werde,
Wird uns, die Seligen, sie wieder einen,
immitten dieser sonnenatmenden Erde...*

*Und zu dem Strand, dem weiten, wogenblauen,
werden wir still und langsam niedersteigen.*

*Stumm werden wir uns in die Augen schauen,
und auf uns sinkt, des Glückes großes Schweigen.*³⁰

"Tomorrow again will shine the sun
and, on my sunlit path of earth,
unite us again, as it has done,
and give our bliss another birth.

The spacious beach under wave-blue skies
we'll reach by descending soft and slow,
and mutely gaze in each other's eyes,
as over us rapture's great hush will flow."

The poem was surely inspired by a boy, but the "heterosexual assumption" is so strong that even today an attempt to state this fact in print may be rejected out of hand.³¹

What is relatively easy in a brief poem—leaving the sex undetermined—is difficult to do in a prose work, but that is just what Mackay did in his short story "Ein Abschied: Ein später Brief" [A Farewell: A Late Letter], which, for that matter, is also quite brief.³² The plot of the story may be quickly told: A great and rich artist dies. In going through his mail that arrived after his death, his widow reads a farewell letter from an old person, who recalls a love affair with the man thirty-five years earlier, an affair known only to the two of them. After reading the letter, the widow tears it up, glad that her husband never read it.

The sex of the author of the letter in the story is not revealed in the letter nor in the surrounding frame of the story. Since the letter recalls an

earlier love affair with the man to whom it is addressed, the "heterosexual assumption" led Mackay's biographers and critics, even Dr. Mornin, to conclude that the letter writer was a woman. (As an aside, it may be noted that Mornin and the two biographers of Mackay are all heterosexual.) But the letter can and, I believe, should be read as the farewell of an old boy-lover to his former young boyfriend.

"Ein Abschied" was written in 1898 and published in 1903 as one of the six stories in Mackay's second volume of short stories. In a brief review that year, Emil Ertl, a Viennese author of historical novels, found the theme of this story hackneyed and its German faulty. Apparently he did not read it as a boy-lover's farewell—hardly a hackneyed theme—but he says no more about it.³³

More recently Mornin viewed the story as follows:

In "Abschied" a jealous widow tears up a letter written to her late husband by a former [female] lover. Their married life together had been without true love, and even after the death of her husband the wife steps between him and the love of another [woman].³⁴

In this quotation I have inserted the words "female" and "woman" in brackets in order to make clear what was unavoidably indicated grammatically in the original German. This illustrates the difficulty of avoiding any indication of gender in German and shows that Mackay must have taken pains to do so in "Ein Abschied." Mornin's "heterosexual assumption" led him to see the jealous wife as the essential element of the story, which, in this view, becomes rather trite. It is, however, a possible interpretation.

Riley's reading of the story, on the other hand, is quite untenable:

In two of the short sketches in *Zwischen den Zielen* [Between the Goals] men are portrayed who marry into a dull bourgeois existence only to wake up years later to the

fact that they should have continued in their early free love relationships. In neither case had they had the courage to break away with a sudden resolution as did Germann in *Der Sybarit*.³⁵

It may be noted first that Riley clearly assumes that a woman is the author of the letter, for no one refers to a homosexual relationship as a "free love" relationship. But Riley reads too much into the story when he writes that the man regretted his marriage. There is nothing in the story to indicate this. It is stated that the wife found her marriage difficult, but there is no suggestion that the man was in any way dissatisfied with his life. On the contrary, he was a successful artist, rich and famous, with admirers and friends (whom the wife does not know). Furthermore, the wife conducted the household in an exemplary fashion. He may well have been quite content with his life, dull and bourgeois as it may have been.

Kurt Zube, Mackay's German biographer, merely echoed Riley:

Also in four of the short stories in *Zwischen den Zielen* were men described who had lived in an unsatisfying marriage. But only two of them had the courage ... to radically break with their previous existence... whereas in the other two ("Da erinnerte er sich" and "Ein Abschied") the persons concerned submitted to tradition, because they did not dare to defy it and give their life a better meaning.³⁶

The artist in "Ein Abschied" did indeed lead a traditional life, but whether this was from conviction or lack of courage is not known. There is simply not much information given about him in the story.

Since the assumption that the author of the letter is a woman gives her a trite role in the story, attention shifted to the wife (Mornin) or the dead man (Riley, Zube) as the central character—and this in turn led, especially in the latter case, to quite false interpretations. Let us now shift our attention to the letter and suppose that its author

is a man. Although the letter takes up only one-third of the space of the story, it is the heart of it, as is indicated in the story's title and subtitle. Written by "an old, already shaking hand," it is unsigned; the artist is asked to "remember whom you loved thirty-five years ago and you will know" who wrote it. The letter concludes: "Farewell, my friend! Farewell, you beloved of my youth!"

It is possible that the two men were nearly the same age thirty-five years earlier; this is suggested in the letter by, "Just as I have forgotten again for an hour that I have grown old, so should you." But the statement that the letter was written by "an old, already shaking hand" and that the widow felt "a kind of hatred of this old, romantic person" suggests a difference in their ages. There is no indication that she thought of her husband, and certainly not of herself, as old. We may suppose, then, that the artist was the younger of the two men and that, when he was the "beloved" of the older man, who was in his youth, he was still a boy, perhaps in his teens.

Thus, the letter may be read as the farewell of an aging boy-lover to a former young boyfriend. In this view, it may be seen to reflect the mixture of idealism and practicality expressed by the wise old woman, who presented Mackay's ideas on boy-love in *The Hustler*:

Only think about the beautiful hours with him. It is all that we will one day have, the memory of such hours...

Since it is passing, let it be light—your love! Let it be light—you cannot load your burdens onto young shoulders, who neither want nor are able to carry it! Let it be light: like a day in spring; like the glow of summer; like the hour of happiness it is.³⁷

Confirming Mackay's rather idealized view of man/boy-love relationships in this story is the letter writer's statement that he wants the artist to remember "your first love, which was perhaps not your deepest, but surely your happiest and most carefree, and about which no one has ever known but you and I." Clearly the relationship was important to the older man, but the tone of

the letter is light, and if the writer is breaking a promise he made to himself not to contact the artist, that is only because he has learned that he is ill and wishes "to call a smile to your lips once again, the smile of remembering a happiness"—the idea repeated years later in *The Hustler*. That Mackay saw the boy in such a relationship as indeed "carefree," sometimes too much so, may be seen in his remark to a friend about a school-boy named "Atti," with whom Mackay fell in love in the spring of 1916, only to have him disappear a few weeks later: "He, too, is very much a Berlin boy, and they beat us in love."³⁸

Most touching—and again typical of Mackay's idealized view of boy-love—is the continuing gratitude of the older man, despite the difficulties that their love brought him:

I thank you, my friend, for the happiness you gave me, and I think of this happiness as one should remember it—as the most precious rarity of this life—with reverence. What it unavoidably entailed in pain and sorrow, I have forgotten, and tranquil today I can say to you: I thank you!

Mackay was thirty-four years old when he wrote "Ein Abschied." Perhaps it reflects how he wished to view in his old age the love affairs whose difficulties so pained him at that age. Surely he hoped for the serenity expressed in the letter!

"Ein Abschied: Ein später Brief" is a rare example of "hiding in the open" in a prose work, and it was a successful strategy. This illustrates the force of the "heterosexual assumption." That Mackay felt some disguise to be necessary shows the power of what has been called "the heterosexual dictatorship." But if Mackay felt compelled to disguise the sex of the central character in his story, the question may still be asked: Why did he choose this strategy rather than the simpler "Albertine complex," especially given the difficulty of carrying it out in a language whose grammar requires gender agreements? It may have been precisely for that problem, the challenge to see if he could carry over the technique so successfully used in his love poems. I suspect,

however, that there was another, perhaps a double reason why he preferred "hiding in the open." He believed that boy-lovers like himself would be sensitive to the encoding. (As Yingling wrote of one of Hart Crane's poems: "The gender of the lover with whom the speaker awakes remains unspecified, itself a code for homosexual relations drawn from the pronominal equivocations of Whitman.")³⁹ Thus they could read it as a story about one of their own. This would give, as he later wrote in his first propaganda piece for man/boy love: "Courage and comfort—for them and for me!"⁴⁰

I also believe that the character of the letter writer was modeled after Mackay himself, that the story perhaps allowed him to come to terms with a just terminated relationship and what it had "entailed in pain and sorrow." Mackay wanted to be true to himself and so could not present that character as a woman, especially since he saw nothing feminine in himself. Thus he presented him, not with the pain of the moment, but as he hoped he would see this—and other—man/boy relationships in his old age. Seen in this way, the theme is by no means "hackneyed." Rather, this story is one of Mackay's most genuine and honest.

Editor's Note:

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NOTES

1. "Albertine Complex," *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*, ed. Wayne Dynes (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), p. 33-34, here p. 33.
2. Justin O'Brien, "Albertine the Ambiguous: Notes on Proust's Transposition of Sexes," *PMLA* 64 (1949), pp. 933-952.
3. Roger Austen, *Playing the Game: The Homosexual*

- Novel in America* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1977), p. xiv.
4. John Henry Mackay, *Gesammelte Werke*, 8 vols. (Berlin-Treptow: Verlag B. Zack, 1911), 3: 73-175.
5. John Henry Mackay, *Fenny Skaller and other Prose Writings from the Books of the Nameless Love*, trans. Hubert Kennedy (Amsterdam: Southernwood Press, 1988).
6. John Henry Mackay, *Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1979), 1: 401-402.
7. Gabriele Reuter, "John Henry Mackay," in John Henry Mackay, *The Anarchists*, trans. George Schumm (Boston: Benj. R. Tucker, 1891), p. 300.
8. Mackay, *Gesammelte Werke*, 3: 74. I used this poem to analyze "Helene" in my "No good deed goes unpunished: John Henry Mackay's 'Helene'," *Germanic Notes* 17 (1986): 6-8.
9. Thomas A. Riley, *Germany's Poet-Anarchist: John Henry Mackay* (New York: The Revisionist Press, 1972), p. 131.
10. Kurt Zube [K.H.Z. Solneman], *Der Bahnbrecher John Henry Mackay: Sein Leben und sein Werk* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1979), p. 259.
11. John Henry Mackay, *Abrechnung: Randbemerkungen zu Leben und Arbeit* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1978), p. 44. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from German are mine.
12. Mackay, *Gesammelte Werke*, 1: 11-12.
13. Stefan Zweig, *Amok* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1931), p. 88.
14. Max Stirner, *The Ego and His Own: The Case of the Individual Against Authority*, trans. Steven T. Byington (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1963), p. 324.
15. John Henry Mackay, *The Freedomseeker: The Psychology of a Development*, trans. Charles and Nora Alexander (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1983), p. 147.
16. Zube, p. 226
17. Mackay, *Fenny Skaller*, p. 58.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 63
20. Mackay, *Gesammelte Werke*, 3: 84.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
22. Mackay, *Fenny Skaller*, p. 116.
23. Robert K. Martin, *The Homosexual Tradition in American Poetry* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. xv-xvi.
24. Thomas A. Yingling, *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text: New Thresholds, New Anatomies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 165.
25. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "American

Literature."

26. Mackay, *Abrechnung*, p. 65.

27. Riley, p. 117.

28. Riley, p. 118.

29. Edward Mornin, *Kunst und Anarchismus: "innere Zusammenhänge" in den Schriften John Henry Mackays* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1983), p. 94.

30. John Henry Mackay, *Ausgewählte Gedichte, 1884-1926* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1984), p. 56.

31. The "heterosexual assumption" is, of course, often only a disguise for simple homophobia, as may be seen in the following example: In 1987 I submitted an article on Richard Strauss and Mackay to the journal *The American Music Teacher*. It revealed that Mackay was a boy-lover. The manuscript was never acknowledged, nor did the editor, Dr. Sherrill V. Martin of the University of North Carolina, reply to my repeated inquiries.

32. John Henry Mackay, *Zwischen den Zielen: Kleine*

Geschichte (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay Gesellschaft, 1984), pp. 95-98. This volume contains all of Mackay's short stories.

33. Emil Ertl, Review of *Der Sybarit und Anderes in Prosa* by John Henry Mackay, *Das literarische Echo* 5 (1903): 1360. *Das literarische Echo* was a leading periodical for literary information.

34. Mornin, p. 83.

35. Riley, p. 90.

36. Zube, p. 243. In the other story mentioned, "Da erinnerte er sich plötzlich," Mackay appears to have used the "Albertine complex," for the "little girl" of the story was probably modeled after a boy.

37. John Henry Mackay, *The Hustler*, trans. Hubert Kennedy (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1985), p. 287.

38. Mackay used a colloquial expression here: "Auch er ist eben ein Berliner Junge, und die sind uns in der Liebe 'über'." Friedrich Dobe, *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), p. 75.

39. Yingling, p. 201.

40. Mackay, *Fenny Skaller*, p. 117.

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Compiled by Edward Brongersma, Joseph Geraci, Hubert Kennedy, and Will H.L. Ogrinc.

Books:

Behrens, Oscar. *De ring des noodlots*. Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht, 1990.

Critical discussion of homosexuality in the famous Dutch novel by Louis Couperus, *De Berg van Licht*, about the Roman boy emperor, Heliogabalus.

Best, Joel. *Threatened Children: Rhetoric and Concern about Child-Victims*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

A sociological and rhetorical analysis of how the social problems marketplace operated in the United States through the 1980s, using the example of the "child victim." The concepts of claims making, typification, and domain expansion are discussed and illustrated. The author debunks several myths about missing children and child sexual abuse.

Bulteau, Michel. *Baron Corvo: L'Exilé de Venise*. (no place): Éditions du Rocher, 1990.
New short biography, well written.

Buschman, Johan. *De Paarse Stempel*. Amsterdam: Van Oorschot, 1990.

A young boy joins a seminary, only to find himself sexually attracted to other seminarians. Very well written.

Consolo, Vincenzo. *Die Wunde im April*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1990.

First German translation of a long out-of-print Italian novel, *La Ferita dell'Aprile* (1963), about a young boy in a Sicilian orphanage.

Dhondt, Astère Michel. *Een Beeldje voor Venus en Reis in het Atoomtijdperk*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1990.

Travel writings in Italy and France, mentioning his encounters with young boys.

Fichte, Hubert. *The Orphanage*. London: Serpent's Tail Press, 1990.

First English translation of the German *Das Waisenhaus* (1965), about a boy's sexual awakening in a German orphanage in 1942.

Gröper, Reinhard. *Herr Arnolds Garten*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990.

Novel set in the 1930s, tells of a small boy's sexual awakening at the onset of the Nazi era.

Halperin, David M. *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: and other essays on Greek Love*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Important new study, from a social constructionist viewpoint.

Kleijwegt, Marc. *Ancient Youth: The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society*. Leiden: University of Leiden, 1991. (Dissertation).

Argues that because youths were supposed to become adults as quickly as possible in ancient times there was not the conflict between youth and adults such as there is now. He cites an epitaph for a three-year-old Roman boy which seems to indicate that the boy was as wise as an adult.

Kröhnke, Friedrich. *Grundeis*. Zürich: Ammann, 1990.

New novel by a German boy-love writer.

Lange, Hans J. de. *Pedofilie en Sexualiteit*. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 1990.

Interesting new, positive study.

Lees-Milne, James. *William Beckford*. London: Century, 1990.

Reissue of a biography by an architectural critic.

The author does not seem to like Beckford, but the book contains a great deal about Beckford's love affair with the twelve year old, William Courtenay.

Lenep, Jacques van (ed.). *De 19de-eeuwse Belgische Beeldhouwkunst.* (2 vols.) Mariakerke/Gent: L. Vanmelle, 1990. An important exhibition catalogue with many illustrations of boy sculptures; argues that the theme of the boy, (*knapengene*) was one of the first expressions of the renewed strength of 19th century Belgian sculpture.

Mackay, John Henry. *Die gedachte Welt.* Edited by Edward Mornin. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1989.

Published in this volume for the first time are the novel, *Die gedachte Welt* (1929/30) and the stories, *Die Adoption* (1929), *Theodor Thierkotter* (1930), and *Das Gasthaus zum Sillgrund* (1930). Boy-love figures only incidentally in the novel, but it is central to the story, *Die Adoption*, the theme of which is the meaning of the ideal relationship between a man and a boy.

Martin, Robert Bernard. *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A very private life.* London: Harper/Collins, 1991.

Controversial new biography that investigates not only Hopkins's possible homosexuality, but also analyzes the evidence relating to his attraction to choristers. The reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement* (12 April 1991) actually wrote the following: "What Professor Martin does believe in quite terrifically is loving boys, a very nice belief but not one it would be sensible to dedicate your life to."!

Mastro, Jos. *Onvervulde vriendschap-kwatrijnen.* [no place]: Exponent, 1990.

Boy-love poems in commemoration of the homosexual Dutch writer Jacob Israël de Haan.

McMullen, Richie. *Enchanted Youth.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1990.

Second part of the autobiographical novel, the first part of which, *Enchanted Boy* appeared in

1988. The hero is now fifteen, and joins the Merchant Marine in an effort to be reunited with his young lover.

Morgenthaler, Jan. *Der Mann mit der Hand im Auge.* Zürich: Limmat Verlagsgenossenschaft, 1988.

Biography of Karl Geiser (1898-1957), sculptor, painter, photographer, and boy-lover. Very well written and with many illustrations of his sculptures of boys.

Motion, Andrew. *The Pale Companion.* London: Viking, 1989.

Public school story. A teenage boy falls in love with an older boy.

Perry, Jos. *Jongens op Kostschool: Het Dagelijks Leven op Katholieke Jongensinternaten.* Utrecht: A.W. Bruna, 1991.

Study of Dutch, Roman Catholic boarding schools, with sections on sex education, chastity, special friendships, etc.

Shahar, Sulamit. *Childhood in the Middle Ages.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Important addition to the theoretical understanding of childhood.

Vogels, Ton and Ron van der Vliet. *Jeugd en Sex: Gedrag en Gezondheidsrisico's bij Scholieren.* 's-Gravenhage: SDU, [1990].

A Kinsey-type study of sexual behavior among Dutch teenagers. Balanced and interesting.

Webb, Paul I. *Blue Boys.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1990.

Anthology of Uranian boy-love poetry.

Winkler, John J. *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece.* New York: Routledge, 1990.

With Dover, one of the most important books on the subject.

Short Stories and Articles:

Ames, M. Ashley and David A. Houston.

"Legal, social and biological definitions of paedophilia." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 19:4 (1990), pp. 333-342.

Braches, Ernst. "De Vreemdeling." *Optima* 8:2 (1990), pp. 16-25.

Short story about a man's attraction to a young Flemish boy. The boy's alcoholic mother and ambitious father interfere. The ending is odd and ambivalent; it is not clear if the boy or his drunken mother end up in the man's bed.

Hauer, G. "Sexualität und Sprache: über den Sprachgebrauch in Porno-, AIDS-, und Pädophiliedebatten." *Lambda Nachrichten* 4 (1990), pp. 71-74.

Analysis of the implications of the terminology used in the discussion of, among other things, paedophilia.

Laenen, S. "Waarom kinderen geen recht hebben op seksualiteit." *Janet* 3:2 (1990), pp. 18-19.
Plea for children's sexual rights.

Last, Jef. "The Boyhood of Judas." *The Fifth Acolyte Reader*. Amsterdam: Acolyte Press, 1991.
First English translation of a novella by a well known Dutch writer, about a romantic friendship between two teenage boys.

Meijsing, Geerten. "Rolfe/Corvo in de biografie. De zaak Symons." *Maatstaf* 38:9/10 (1990), pp. 22-31.

An important criticism of the principal biographies of Corvo by Symons, Weeks, and Benkovitz, convincingly arguing that these authors suppressed the real personality of Corvo. The author pleads for the necessity of a critical text edition of Corvo's work.

Münster, Joachim. "Les Amours Masculines dans la Chine Imperiale, 1ère partie." *Alexandre* 17 (1990), pp. 55-60.
Chiefly about ephedophilia.

Schoenert, J. "Pädophilie/Päderastie: eine kontroverse Diskussion." *Lust* 1:1 (1990), pp. 12-13.

Siegel, Klaus. "Hubert Fichte en August Graf von Platen Hallermünde. Nog steeds geen biografie." *Maatstaf* 38:9/10 (1990), pp. 150-166.

Explicitly deals with von Platen's boy-love and argues that he was "80%" of the model for Von Aschenbach in Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*.

Straver, Cees. "Controversen in de seksuologie." *Maandblad voor Geestelijke Volksgezondheid* 44:12 (1989), pp. 1347-1350.

Includes an objective discussion of paedophilia.

Swanson, Jenny. "Childhood and childrearing in *ad status* sermons by later thirteenth century friars." *Journal of Medieval History* 16:4 (1990), pp. 309-331.

Argues that children were seen as a group with specific needs different from adults, which challenges the views of Ariès and others.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Loving Boys, Vol. 1; Loving Boys, Vol. 2 Edward Brongersma. Amsterdam: Global Academic Publisher, 1986; 1990. Reviewed by Jan Schuijjer.

It has been a long wait for the two volumes, respectively entitled *Loving Boys, Vol. 1*, and *Loving Boys, Vol. 2*, which comprise Edward Brongersma's opus magnum, the second of which was published in April 1990 by Global Academic Publishers. This indeed voluminous work, totalling 847 pages, is the successor to *Das Verfelte Geschlecht* ("The Outlawed Sex" is a title invented by the publisher, much to Brongersma's chagrin), which appeared in 1970. *Loving Boys* was begun in 1980 and, like its predecessor, was written first in German. (However, it has yet to be published in German.) A trimmed-down Dutch version of the first volume was published by the SUA publishing company in Amsterdam under the title *Jongensliefde*.

Unlike many other authors on the subject, Brongersma has never left a trace of doubt about his own personal involvement in the issue of boy-love. This book is no exception. In the preface he states: "A man who, as a member of Parliament for eighteen years, has involved himself deeply in so-called 'public morality' matters; who, as a lawyer, defended many clients prosecuted for having had sexual affairs with boys; who himself suffered imprisonment for being involved with a 16-year old boy (under a law now repealed because the legislators themselves finally came to see that it is unjust); who, over 25 years, has published many books and papers about sexual relations with children. . . such a man would make a fool of himself if he pretended to have only an academic interest in this phenomenon. Quite obviously his interest is personal." The author is therefore primarily what the Dutch would call "knowledgeable by experience:" it is first-hand experience from

which his insight in the matter derives. It has not made him a social outcast; even an unsympathetic reviewer of the first volume labelled him—probably grudgingly—a "respected paedophile."¹ Less so the United States Senate, which, together with unproven accounts of child auctions and child sex package tours being arranged in the Netherlands, heard the following testimony: "(You) would like to know who Edward Brongersma is? He is an attorney and Dutch citizen, who has been in prison for molesting children. He is also a former member of the senate. He frequently writes for paedophile organizations and publications and he also writes for legal journals and recently had a lengthy article published in an English legal journal on the issues involving sex with children."²

Indeed, Brongersma spent ten months behind bars between the summers of 1950 and 1951 for violating a law that was introduced in 1911, the year of his birth, and which even prohibited homosexual contacts between adults and minors above sixteen years of age. His come-back after this shattering event is bound to read like a fairytale to everyone convicted under the age-of-consent laws. In 1971, eight years after having been readmitted to the Upper House of the Dutch parliament, he was instrumental (together with other Labor Party members) in repealing the law under which he was convicted. The virtually unanimous vote in favor of repeal cleared the way for a more public discussion on further liberalization of the age of consent laws, as did Brongersma's public coming-out in 1978 in the press and on a popular talk-show in the Netherlands. (At that time, the climate was generally more open due, in part, to the advocacy of Brongersma and other widely-respected figures, such as Alje Klammer, a television pastor.)

By the early 1970s, Brongersma had become a key person for boy lovers and (former) boy-friends around the globe and he was entrusted with personal accounts, life histories, and me-

mentoes of their experiences. These items, together with a library of fiction, scholarly materials, and other writings, comprise an invaluable collection for every serious researcher on the subject. (The material is administered by a foundation in order to preserve it after Brongersma has passed away.) As a writer who can combine a first-hand knowledge of scores of man-boy relationships with a theoretical grounding, Brongersma is certainly well placed to produce a convincing account of his insights. Brongersma is a gifted writer and not only on the subject of boy-love. He received wide acclaim for his parliamentary speech on the legalization of abortion, later published in the Dutch feminist magazine *Opzij* as a tribute to Brongersma, and for his published and impressive correspondence with the Dutch philosopher and professor Bernard Delfgaauw on the classical questions of good and evil and God's omnipotence, which correspondence was stimulated by Delfgaauw's book on Thomas Aquinas.³

It has been observed by various researchers that the quality of the discourse on intergenerational sex in the social sciences is generally low. As Okami [1990] argues, the "new research" on incest and child sexual abuse suffers from "structural bias, the use of legal, moral, and political rather than empirically-based criteria and failures of integrity in discourse, "often blurring the line between social science and social criticism."⁴ Although Okami refers to Brongersma's first volume as one of "a few out-of-the-mainstream publications" at "the other end of the sociopolitical spectrum, which advocates lowering or abolishing the age-of-consent laws," in view of Okami's judgment of "mainstream" publications, one wonders whether being out-of-the-mainstream is really a point of criticism. The main issue is whether Brongersma will remain completely out-of-the-mainstream or whether he will be able to reach that part of the scientific community that is more open-minded than the victimologists whom Okami criticizes. It would appear that a more open-minded segment of the scientific community will not be able easily to dismiss Brongersma's work, if only because Brongersma presents so many true-life

stories. Moreover, the book is an admirable piece of work, the product of a deeply motivated, even passionate, man who deserves respect for his courage, zeal, and integrity. On the other hand, I expect that even those researchers who are not inclined to rank intergenerational sex among the ultimate evils, will advocate some caution and restraint as to the author's main conclusions. Indeed a number of cautionary remarks are warranted, which I shall discuss in the next paragraphs.

Like many other authors, Brongersma relies for a large part on retrospective assessments by former child partners in child-adult sexual interactions. In his case, these accounts serve to underscore the fact that sex with adults is not necessarily harmful and may often be positive experiences for the child. The value of such retrospective assessments is a major point of debate among psychologists. Brongersma's compatriot, Ms. Nel Draijer, whom the Dutch government commissioned to conduct a major research project concerning the experiences of women with sexual encounters in childhood, was criticized for her unevenhanded reliance on retrospective assessments. In her case, the conclusion was rather that sexual contacts with adults amount mostly, albeit not invariably, to (serious) child abuse.

Brongersma argues emphatically in favor of retrospective analysis. He takes issue with the German psychologist J.S. Hohmann, who considers all autobiographical data concerning sexual experiences worthless unless everything about the subject's history is known. On this observation Brongersma states (Vol. II, p. 343) that this objection would not apply just to sex, but to all kinds of experience. Thus, Brongersma concludes, "we would be in a state of impotent uncertainty about everything we did which affected our fellow human beings." Unfortunately, I think that we are indeed resigned to uncertainty about the consequences in later life of complex acts, such as those that occur within the context of sexual relationships. Furthermore, taking retrospective accounts of such relationships and acts literally, even many years after they have allegedly occurred, is not without risk.

There is little question but that one's memory may be colored or distorted by later events.

As an example: some ten years ago I had the pleasure of closely observing a man-boy love relationship for several years. Every Friday the boy was jumping for joy, anxiously awaiting the weekend he would spend with his adult friend. After two years, they organized a big party for friends and relatives, as if it were a wedding anniversary. His parents, who initially had some qualms about the relationship, would definitely have stopped it had it not been for the boy's enthusiasm. The relationship continued for another several years. When the boy grew older he joined the navy and was intoxicated by the macho culture of his new environment. Now he is embarrassed about ever having had a homosexual relationship and vehemently denies that it was ever voluntary. How to judge his autobiographic statement? I have no doubts as to how the media would do this, if they got the chance, but the real question is whether the boy's memory of his experience is more reliable than my own memory of the outward events.

I agree with Brongersma that autobiographies can teach us about the nature of sexuality, despite Hohmann's claims. My objection is that a methodology based primarily on such personal accounts has its limits and requires a skepticism that I find sometimes lacking in the book. It must also be kept in mind that, due to his position, Brongersma's sample of subjects is rather biased. Persons who actually abuse children, or their victims, may be less inclined to seek out contact with him than are those who enjoy consensual affairs. Of course, bias is not necessarily problematic when it is properly acknowledged. After all, bias is a characteristic of many research projects in this particular area. But it should be kept in mind that the accounts from his correspondents and acquaintances constitute only anecdotal evidence from which generalizations should not be made and which should not be used to prove more general propositions about adult-child sexual contacts and relationships. Unfortunately, Brongersma does just this throughout the book.

Of course, Brongersma does not confine him-

self to quoting his own subjects, but cites frequently from a vast body of literature. I would have favored a somewhat greater selectivity in this respect. The author is remarkably uncritical with respect to the reliability of the sources from which he quotes. Serious research, belles-lettres, or downright pornography—it does not seem to matter where the quote comes from, as long as it illustrates the point he wishes to make. In Volume II (p. 444), a passage from a novel by Colin Murchison is referred to as an excellent example of how an educational talk between a man and a boy can dispel the latter's inhibitions against anal intercourse. In fact, the educational talk was only one of a number of methods—including the serving of alcohol, spanking sessions, outright deception, and other abuses of authority—by which the protagonist, a teacher, attempts to seduce the 12- and 13-year-old boys in his charge. Other such fictional sources include Casimir Dukazh, Jacques de Brethmas, and Drew & Drake. It is a pity that Brongersma unnecessarily juxtaposes fiction with academic literature, but he is convinced that one can learn more about man-boy and boy-boy love by reading relevant fiction than from many professional papers on the subject.⁵ While erotic fiction certainly has its legitimate place, it often creates a fantasy-world for boy-lovers. Contrary to Brongersma's belief, I think that fiction has little scientific relevance in this context.

Brongersma has a refreshingly optimistic view of sexuality. This appears already in Chapter One where he spells out the various purposes of sex, among them procreation, the expression of love and emotion, pleasure, and surrender to the primordial force. Sex as a means of wielding power or establishing a hierarchy (think of prison inmates) is not included as a category, although it is mentioned in passing in several instances. Sex-negative feelings are almost invariably ascribed to social influences, the church, and the like. In this way, Brongersma makes the same mistake as many sexual liberationists and reformers by failing to recognize that sex is an area where people are pre-eminently vulnerable. I would not be surprised, in fact, if the reason that sexual liberation and reform remain elu-

sive (and the reason that sexual liberationists and reformers often meet with great hostility) turned out to be that people do feel deeply vulnerable where sex is concerned, regardless of any particular ecclesiastical doctrine or social climate.

When Volume I of the book was published and it was announced that the second volume would discuss, among other things, the negative aspects of man-boy love, some reviewers expressed skepticism about what they regarded as Brongersma's biased views. I must admit that I had hoped Brongersma would prove them wrong and provide a balanced view of the negative sides of man-boy sex. But when reading the relevant chapter, except for a brief section on sexual violence, one almost forgets that he is talking about negative correlates. Most of the case stories are positive ones, and the author goes out of his way to downplay or otherwise qualify the usual criticisms proffered and the concerns raised. While it is true that criticism of paedophile relationships is often predictable, unfounded, and sometimes outright nonsensical, there is certainly more to be said about issues such as parent-child incest or child prostitution. I would not say that Brongersma's arguments and qualifications are all misplaced, but for a book that aims to cover the whole ground of man-boy sex, the discussion of the negative aspects remains rather sketchy and sometimes even apologetic. This could cost him the sympathy of many of his readers, which would be a pity, since apologia is certainly avoidable.

An example of the inadequacy of Brongersma's handling of the negative aspects is the section on the possible traumatization of children resulting from sex with adults (Vol. II, pp. 16-27). While it is certainly worthwhile to have a list of authors who argue that there is little evidence that sex, per se, is traumatizing, such a list does not prove that traumatization doesn't occur and Brongersma's exclusion of authors with differing viewpoints does not, in and of itself, prove that the authors on his list are correct. Sandfort, whose research should have been mentioned in this context, is already more cautious in his conclusions regarding traumatization, much to the delight of the Dutch Minister

of Justice, who sponsored that research and used Sandfort's caution as an argument not to propose a change in the age-of-consent laws.⁶ Moreover, it would have been helpful had Brongersma attempted some sort of critical review of this literature. Baumann, for example, reviewed the files of 8051 criminal cases concerning sex with children in Germany and concluded that there was "no damage" in 48 per cent of the cases, including all those involving boys. Considering that (a) it would have taken one researcher approximately 4 years (working forty hours per week) to study each file for no more than one hour and (b) no personal interviews were conducted, it is doubtful that Baumann's study was sufficiently thorough.

One traditionally polemical item is that of sexual preference. Brongersma vigorously emphasizes the need to distinguish between "true" and "pseudo-" paedophiles (the latter simply being simple hetero- or homosexual adults who substitute children for "preferred" adult partners) and even warns that it may be "fatal" not to make such a distinction (Vol. I, p. 69). Why such a failure would be "fatal" is far from clear, since, as Brongersma himself admits, cases of real abuse cannot be invariably ascribed to "pseudo-paedophilia" (Vol. I, p. 71). On the other hand, Brongersma is being disingenuous when he approvingly quotes Schéerer, who states that "probably we will find among true paedophiles a higher percentage of men willing to adapt their sexual desires to the sexuality of the child." (Vol. I, p. 71). This statement does not appear to be based on systematic research, unlike Wyss' finding (Vol. I, p. 72) that among 160 men convicted for sex with children, only ten were clearly attracted to children. Nevertheless, it would seem that the first question is whether one can establish a person's "predominant" sexual preference at all, when urges other than procreative, heterosexual, and "age-appropriate" ones are vigorously suppressed throughout society.

Brongersma suggests elsewhere in the book that the failure to distinguish between paedophiles and "pseudo-paedophiles" inflicts unnecessary misery on paedophiles, but this statement does not seem to be well founded.

The main problem encountered by paedophiles is that society generally fails to distinguish between positive and abusive child-adult relationships. Whether or not this distinction is determined by the adult's sexual preference is not the point. Even if it were proven that the negative contacts were, to a greater extent, the responsibility of "pseudo-paedophiles," society is unlikely to begin to accept sex between children and adults.

One other issue concerning sexual preference is Brongersma's hypothesis that boy-love is closer to male heterosexuality than to male homosexuality. This is allegedly demonstrated with reference to boy-lovers' abhorrence of male body-hair and their allegedly non-effeminate behavior. Brongersma is certainly on shaky grounds here. There are certainly plenty of boy-lovers who are effeminate and many gay men who are not. Moreover, many boy-lovers are as physically repulsed by adult females as they are by adult males. One could conceivably test this hypothesis by investigating whether boy-lovers are more prone to seeking out adult females than adult males as sexual partners and whether heterosexual men are more likely than homosexual men to engage in boy-love, but such a study has never been done. Thus, I can only conclude that the claim that boy-love is "more straight than gay" remains unproven.

Brongersma often seems too eager to prove his points and is inclined to base general points on biased information. When reading his book, I was reminded of the fate of Margaret Mead, who was so eager to prove that the Samoan culture was a sexual utopia that in the end her research was discredited (Derek Freeman in 1982). Apparently, Brongersma is not aware of this fact (Vol. I, p. 25). Brongersma certainly doesn't deserve Mead's fate, if only because he has had the great personal courage to devote himself to fighting a world of prejudice.

As I stated before in this review the foregoing criticisms were cautionary flags which should be recognized by readers who wish to gain a maximum benefit from reading this book. My general opinion is that Brongersma's book makes an important contribution to the discus-

sion about boy-love, as it spells out eloquently the arguments of the proponents of greater freedom and provides greater insight into at least part of the phenomenon of man-boy love. I hope therefore that the publication of this book does not mark the end of Brongersma's active authorship. As a lawyer and a man of compassion, he has witnessed first-hand the frequently devastating impact of repressive laws on people's lives. I would encourage him to write another book on this particular aspect of man-boy love, which is only touched upon in the present volumes.

Jan Schuijjer is a member of the Editorial Board of Paidika.

Notes

1. Jacqueline van Duin, "Gerespecteerde pedofiel veegt zijn eigen straatje," *Het Parool*, 6 November 1987.
2. *Child Pornography and Pedophilia*, hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee of Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, 29 and 30 November 1984, S. Hrg. 98-1277; testimony by Toby Tyler, Deputy Sheriff, San Bernardino County, California, p. 33.
3. Bernard Delfgaauw and Edward Brongersma, *De (on)redelijkheid van het geloof*, Kok Agora, Kampen, 1987.
4. Paul Okami, "Sociopolitical Biases in the Contemporary Scientific Literature on Adult Human Sexual Behavior with Children and Adolescents," in: J. Feierman (ed.), *Pedophilia: Bio-Social Dimensions*, Springer-Verlag, New York, 1990.
5. Edward Brongersma, "Boy Lovers and Their Influence on Boys: Distorted Research and Anecdotal Observations," *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 20, nrs. 1/2, 1990, p. 146.
6. Bill, aiming at a partial revision of the Penal Code, concerning sexual crimes, Tweede Kamer, 20930, 5, page 4.

The Drummer of the Eleventh North Devonshire Fusiliers, Guy Davenport (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), 137 pages. Reviewed by J.C. Stadterman.

Those who have long relished Guy Davenport's work will find this most recent volume a delight, equal to his best. Those not familiar with his work should find this book a rewarding introduction. Readers are cautioned that Davenport's prose-poetry is not quick and easy reading; it must be read slowly and carefully, and more than once. Furthermore, most readers will find Davenport's vast vocabulary a challenge—an unabridged dictionary is a nearly essential adjunct to the book. This aside, Davenport's writing combines a highly evocative, poetic style with the theme of boys' sexuality. Such a combination is rare.

The author has gained wide acceptance and praise in the mainstream press. Given that three previous books[1] focus on boys and their sexuality, it is remarkable that his work has brought him such honor in the midst of the American sexual hysteria. It is doubtless Davenport's extraordinary gift for language that has earned him critical acclaim. Such praise is all the more remarkable given that boy-love themes were implicit in these earlier works. I think, however, that with this present work Davenport has become even bolder. Consider, for instance, this passage from the book under review describing the boys' clubhouse:

German and Dutch posters for the Cause on the walls, and photographs by Hajo Ortil and Jos Meyer. A red bookcase made by Anders contained in neat stacks copies of *Signe de Piste*, *Pan*, *Libido*, *Le Petit Gredin*, *Juvenart*, *Blue Jeans*, and *Pojkart*. (Page 94)

The "Cause" most probably refers to youth and paedophile emancipation, and "Dutch posters" seems to refer to those published by the Paedophile Chapters of the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Sexuele Hervorming (NVSH) in the 1970s and early 1980s. Hajo Ortil and Jos Meyer

are known for their photographs of boys. The copies "in neat stacks" are contemporary magazines of interest to boy-lovers. (*Blue Jeans* appears to refer to the publication *Jeans*.) Some of them (*Signe de Piste*, *Juvenart*, *Libido*) are very obscure and were printed in short runs. Many readers will never have heard of any of them—even those familiar with paedophile material may not recognize all of the titles. Davenport must have taken some pains to inform himself of their existence. Throughout his work, Davenport seems familiar with paedophile literature and paedophile sensibilities.

Consider also this passage (the narrator, Jos, is a teenage boy; Hugo is his teacher):

And I keep having the feeling that Hugo, if I gave him a little encouragement, would haul me on his shoulder over to the bed and love me until we both passed out. ... (Page 75)

While some of Davenport's readers may remain oblivious to the implications of the first passage, the meaning of the second is quite clear. He is to be admired for his courage in introducing this theme into a book published by a main-stream publisher; further credit is due the publisher.

The remarkable thing is that Davenport has received so much praise from main-stream reviewers. Regarding *Eclogues*, *The New Yorker* said:

Guy Davenport is among the very few truly original, truly autonomous voices now audible in American Letters.²

The New York Times called Davenport's *Eclogues* "A tour de force that adds something new to the art of fiction."³

The Chicago Review said of the same book:

One of the many beauties of Guy Davenport's prose is that it leads away from itself, encouraging the reader to meditations inspired by—though not always related to—the matters at hand. His stories are wonderfully full of allusions to and explanations of facts, events, people common and unknown. These spark in the

reader a personal chain of delightful, tangential thoughts... It is of note that when his work is compared with that of Calvino and Faulkner it does not pale.⁴

The New Criterion said of *Apples and Pears*:

Guy Davenport's inimitable adventures in the realms of philosophy, language, and literary form are to be treasured.⁵

The Drummer of the Eleventh North Devonshire Fusiliers continues the themes (and in some instances, the characters and settings) of Davenport's earlier works. The book begins with four short stories. The themes of these stories range widely, as is typical of Davenport's work. "Collin Maillard" treats the links between hazing, clique formation, and growing sexual awareness among boys around the age of puberty. "A Gingham Dress" considers cross-dressing urges in prepubescent boys. "Badger" reveals the stream-of-consciousness of an imaginative twelve-year-old boy prowling through Copenhagen on a summer day in search of sexual adventure.

The novella, "Wo es war, soll ich werden," constitutes the bulk of the book, and the remainder of this review will be devoted to its consideration. The novella is a continuation of three stories published in *The Jules Verne Steam Balloon*. Set in a Danish boys' boarding school, this tale treats the intricate relationships among several men and boys. The casual acceptance of sexual relationships in Davenport's fictional school contrasts sharply with the current hysteria regarding relationships between adults and children. Davenport has created an alternate world, in which love between men and boys furthers the development of both.

A brief identification of the principal characters, familiar from *The Jules Verne Steam Balloon*, will be helpful in understanding some of the excerpts which follow. Hugo is a classics master, well-respected and slated to assume the job of headmaster. Holger is a young teacher and housemaster, rather inhibited, and fearful of his own sexuality as the story begins. Pascal is a pubescent prodigy, and Holger's inseparable companion. Jos is a handsome, athletic, priapic

youth a few years older. Franklin, perhaps a year older than Pascal, and his older sister, Mariana, live with Hugo.

In this as in his previous long stories and novellas, Davenport captures emotion indirectly but with exactitude. Consider this description of Pascal's burgeoning affection for his housemaster, Holger:

Two raps on the door, Pascal with his complete turn on his axis, closing the door by backing against it. A bright look, as always, by way of hello. Holger, reading, gave his happy grin of welcome. Pascal took a deep breath, as of resolution, marched over with exaggerated steps, halted, heaved another resolute breath, and, leaning, kissed Holger on the cheek.

—Because, he said quickly, Franklin gives Hugo and Mariana a kiss when he comes in. Christians, way back, kissed when they met. Besides, Franklin said I should. (Page 57.)

Pascal's affection, reticence, and resolve are captured in just a few lines. Such economy of expression characterizes Davenport's writing.

Davenport is a master of poetic description. In just a few words he can describe, with carefully chosen details, a scene that breathes with life. While some passages are rather cryptic, in the manner of dense poetry, they are not especially difficult to comprehend (his often obscure vocabulary notwithstanding). Consider the following erotic passage, entitled "One Hundred Staring Sheep," in which the reader may easily guess the object so tenderly described:

Long slopes of bluebells and buttercups under windy running clouds. The ranny mouse, the blind folksinger said, let us free the ranny mouse from his sweet nest in the bag of your smallclothes, that smell so clean and are of such soft fabric, so neatly sewn. What a nice sleeping mouse he is, and grows so fast when he wakes. (Page 88)

Unlike many men, Davenport seems to have retained clear images from his own childhood of

the nature of friendship and love between boys in the years leading up to and just beyond puberty. The simple, deep, randy affection and empathy which often characterize such relationships shine off the page:

...Pascal quit typing, slid out of his chair casually as you please, and without so much as a half glance over his shoulder, walked backward until his butt was against the back of Franklin's head. I saw all this with my own eyes. Then the two of you had your jeans and underpants off in something under three milliseconds, and in three more were wrapped around each other on the floor.

—Could be, Franklin said, we're horny all the time. Fact is, though, I mean aside from being horny all the time, we know what the other's thinking. Like what flavor of ice cream. It's not done to have to ask. We never miss. (Page 122)

As the novella develops, Holger slowly loses his reserve and staid manner under the tutelage of his pupil, Pascal. Davenport depicts, with tenderness and beauty, the deepening of their relationship at a campsite in the Danish countryside. Alone and snug in their tent at the end of the day they have this simple but revealing exchange:

—And if we're going to be up early tomorrow and explore the other side of the wood, or maybe go back to the island, we should douse the lantern and listen to the rain and get some sleep, wouldn't you say? What are you doing, mite?

—Taking off my pyjama bottoms.

—Holger, on his knees, extinguished the lantern.

—Now what are you doing.

—Getting into your sleeping bag with you. (Page 116)

So vivid, human, and convincing are Davenport's characters, and so loving, logical, and reasonable is his tale, that one can easily forget how much it is at variance with the prevailing West-

ern assumption that any sexual relationship between a man and a boy is, a priori, abusive.

In my view, the book is an important accomplishment; I could only wish that it were a bit longer. I found myself greedy for more. Alas, Davenport's delightful drawings, such as those that graced *Apples and Pears*, are not a part of this book.

Davenport's ability to capture the essence of relationships and emotions is perhaps at its peak in the volume under review. The book is strongly recommended. It demands several unhurried evenings, and is well worth the time. The current work, standing on its own, is an exceptional accomplishment. The boy-love writings, taken together, should be considered masterpieces of their kind.

J.C. Stadterman has an M.S.W. from Boston University School of Social Work.

Notes

1. Guy Davenport, *Eclogues* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1981).

Guy Davenport, *Apples and Pears* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984).

Guy Davenport, *The Jules Verne Steam Balloon* (San Francisco, North Point Press, 1987).

2. Guy Davenport, *The Drummer of the Eleventh North Devonshire Fusiliers* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), back of dust jacket.

3. *The Jules Verne Steam Balloon*, op cit, back of dust jacket.

4. *Apples and Pears*, op cit, back of dust jacket.

5. *The Jules Verne Steam Balloon*, op cit, back cover.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Early in 1988 I consulted the Dutch scholar Rudolf Bakker about Charles Filiger, and he suggested that I write to the Musée du Prieuré in Saint Germain-en-Laye, France. In his letter he mentioned a large exhibition of Filiger's work at this museum and added that since then Filiger was no longer so obscure to the experts. Unfortunately Bakker had misplaced his copy of the exhibition catalogue and could not send me a copy.

I wrote several times to the museum, but not until August 1988, when my *Paidika* article (*Paidika*: Autumn 1988 Number 4) was already at the printer, did the curator finally send me a short note. It ignored completely all my questions concerning "the boy in Filiger's art." Fortunately, an alert reader of *Paidika* in the US sent me enough additional bibliographic information to enable me to find a copy of this scarce catalogue. The catalogue was edited by M.-A. Anquetil and J. Montfort under the title *Filiger: Dessins-Gouaches-Aquarelles*, and published in Saint Germain-en-Laye: Musée Départemental du Prieuré, 1981.

The 1981 exhibition at the Musée du Prieuré was the largest exhibition ever held of Filiger's work. The catalogue lists 119 pieces and quotes amply from Filiger's correspondence, especially with his brother, Paul, and his niece, Anna Filiger. Several notes from this catalogue may be of interest to the readers of *Paidika*, which, in some instances, alter interpretations in my article.

Filiger's "Saint Sebastian" is here entitled (p. 72), "Saint étendu" ("Stretched Saint"). However, from its composition it is obvious that the painting is meant to represent St. Sebastian. (*Paidika*, p. 36, Fig. 3. See also my article, "Sint-Sebastian Geschoren": *Maatstaff* 34:1, 1986, pp. 39ff.) The two women in the left corner of Filiger's composition are clearly Saints Irene and Lucina, associated with St. Sebastian in the iconography. The piece is now in the Altschul collection in New York. The "Chromatic Nota-

tion" I called a portrait of Rémy de Gourmont (*Paidika*, p. 40, Fig. 8) is renamed "Le Juif Errant" ("The Wandering Jew"). The catalogue illustrates another "Notation" (now in the Musée du Prieuré) which might be a portrait of de Gourmont (p. 85, Fig. 100).

Rémy de Gourmont is said to have written a poem about Filiger entitled, "Les Saintes du Paradis" (The Saints of Paradise) (p. 101). Four lines of this poem, published in *L'Ymagier*, number 3, 1893, are interesting with respect to my observations about Filiger's depiction of eyes.

*A Filiger, là-bas dans sa maison des grèves
A Filiger, qui peint des fresques pour les cieux
Et qui rêve en silence aux saintes dont les yeux
Sont calmes comme des lunes et cruels comme des
glaiives.*

"To Filiger, there, in his house by the sea;
To Filiger, painting frescoes for heaven
Who dreams, silently, of saints with eyes
Calm as moons, cruel as blades."

It is interesting to note that the catalogue represses all mention of Filiger's homosexuality. In the biographical section the Paris incident I mentioned in my article (p. 33) has been completely ignored. However, in a letter from Alfred Jarry, Filiger is called a "pauvre bougre" (poor bugger) (p. 65), and a quotation from Dom Junipérien (aka. Laurent Tailhade), published in the *Mercure de France* (November 1893, pp. 242-243), makes vague allusions to passive homosexuality (p. 61). The catalogue, on the other hand, does reveal the names of two boy models as Emile Jacob and Joseph Poble, a boy from Keraro, a small village in Brittany. In 1893, when Marie Poupée closed her inn at Le Pouldu, Filiger withdrew to a hamlet in the neighborhood, Kersulé, and took along with him Joseph, who was 13 at the time (pp. 42, 111).

Finally, more evidence is given about Filiger's final years: his weak condition, his lack of

courage and his seclusion, from 1911 onwards, from his friends. There are some references to his alcoholism and to high expenses for alcohol and medicines. By 1896 he was diagnosed an ether addict (pp. 112, 114, 116). However, the opinion I stated in my article, (p. 44) that Filiger's death might not have been suicide, is clearly untenable in the light of new information in the catalogue. It is now clear that Filiger did commit suicide. In a letter to his brother, Paul, (20 August 1908) he had already threatened to do so (p. 115). On 11 January 1928, he was found lying unconscious in a street in Plougastel, his wrists slashed. He was brought to the hospital in Brest where he died at 1:00 PM (p. 117). The description of his death bears a striking resemblance to the Paris incident of 1889 and we can now infer that Filiger had back then already made his first suicide attempt.

Additional information has also come to light from another source. In April and May 1989 there was a small but good exhibition of works by Jan Verkade in the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh in Amsterdam. A catalogue was published for the exhibition, edited by C. Boyle-Turner, titled, *Jan Verkade: Hollandse volgeling van Gauguin*. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, 1989). There were in the exhibition three versions of Verkade's "Saint Sebastian" (*Paidika*, p. 34), and both the final version and a study for "Young Breton Boy on the Beach" (*Paidika*, p. 35; Verkade catalogue pp. 25, 128, 130, 133).

Two pieces in the exhibition were of special interest with respect to my article on Filiger. The first was a photograph of a boy and a girl in Breton costume at the beach in Le Pouldu. According to the Verkade catalogue (p. 24) this was the boy who posed as a model for both Verkade and Filiger. The second was a small gouache on cardboard (1891) by Filiger showing back poses of three boy-nudes. The boy in the photograph is clearly being depicted here three times from various perspectives, and, according to the catalogue, Verkade carried Filiger's gouache with him his whole life (pp. 129, 131). The name of the boy is not given.

Will H.L. Ogrinc

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